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SOCIAL POSITIONING IN REFUGEE WOMEN’S EDUCATION:
A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY OF ONE ENGLISH CLASS

by

NICOLE PETTITT

Under the Direction of Diane Belcher, PhD

ABSTRACT

The present study examined the language and literacy practices of one ethnolinguistically diverse family literacy English classroom for women who recently migrated to the United States as refugees, and whose access to formal, school-based learning was interrupted prior to migration. More specifically, this study investigated how institutionally-valued practices socially positioned the women in class, and how the women discursively negotiated and claimed new or different positionings for themselves. Overall, this study draws on social positioning theories (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999), to attempt to address the relationship between English language education for women and notions of social inclusion (Allman, 2013).

Designed as a linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015), data were collected over the course of two years and included eight months of thrice-weekly classroom-based participant observation; classroom audio (105) and video recordings (39); photographs (1038); audio and video-recorded semi-structured interviews with the focal teacher (4), three focal students (2 each), and the main administrator (1); and document collection. Data were transcribed and analyzed utilizing thematic (Saldaña, 2012) and micro-ethnographic discourse analysis (Bloome et al., 2006).

Findings show a range of institutionally-valued language and literacy practices and diverse accompanying positionings. Some practices served to socialize learners into specific “storylines” (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003) related to socially-preferred ways of “doing” language and literacy both inside and outside the classroom, particularly in relationship to the learners’ positions as mothers. Other practices served to position learners as legitimate co-authors and community members, affording them ways to use English to “write (and speak) themselves into” the times and places of their surrounding communities (Trend, 1994, p. 226). The findings further illustrate that learners used language and other multimodal means (i.e., photographs, video, social media) to make inter(con)textual, intercultural, and transnational connections for both academic and personal purposes—and to draw others into those connections with them. These connections positioned learners as academically, technologically, and relationally resourceful transnational women. Implications for pedagogy, programming, policy, theory, and recommendations for future research are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: women, refugee, family literacy, L2 education, adult education, social positioning, linguistic ethnography, microethnographic discourse analysis

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NICOLE PETTITT

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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Nicole Marie Pettitt
2017

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by

NICOLE PETTITT

Committee Chair: Diane Belcher

Committee: John Murphy

Gayle Nelson

James Simpson

Elaine Tarone

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Bob and Carol Pettitt

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1 INTRODUCTION

Today, 60 million individuals are classified as refugees—more than at any time since World War II (United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees, 2015). In the U.S., English language learning programs for adults are one of the principal sites where newcomers learn how to manage and negotiate the complex language and literacy tasks of life in their new communities. From communicating with healthcare workers and children’s teachers to getting a job or negotiating a raise in English, newcomers are continually learning what is expected of them linguistically *and* culturally. Such expectations can be understood as forms of social positioning, or “the way in which the individual’s ‘subjectivity’ is generated through the learning and use of certain discursive practices” (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 43.) In other words, language learning classrooms are one of the sites where adult immigrants and refugees learn what subject positions (described more fully below) are being made available to them in their new communities, as well as sites for adult language learners to agentially, discursively negotiate and claim new or different subject positions (Pavlenko, 2004). As they do so, some teachers may attempt to provide explicit feedback regarding the historical, political, social, and cultural meanings that longtime community members may attach to those subject positions, particularly if they feel learners are unaware of these meanings (Williams, in Pettitt, Ekers, Williams & Yoder, 2015). The potential tension between available subject positions and those taken up and negotiated by learners invites the following questions: In what ways do the subject positions made available to adult immigrants and refugees in adult English language classroom contexts converge with or diverge from those they take up and craft for themselves?

This line of questioning was first taken up by Menard-Warwick in her work with adult Latinx immigrants enrolled in a family literacy program in the Bay Area of California in the

early 2000s (Menard-Warwick, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2009). My research extends her scholarship in several ways, which provide important background for this study. First, the present study zeroes in on the experiences of women who came to the U.S. as refugees. Academic research that focuses on refugee concerns is particularly salient at this point in history, as the number of refugees worldwide continues to rise (UNHCR, 2015). Further, as I discuss below, recent refugees to the U.S. are increasingly ethnically and linguistically diverse, so this research extends beyond questions of literacy and language education practices in Latinx communities to those of newer groups in the U.S. Additionally, the present study sheds light on the above questions with a group that is frequently overlooked in applied linguistics research (Bigelow & Pettit, 2015; Bigelow & Tarone, 2004): women whose formal schooling was interrupted in their home countries and who are at beginning levels of reading and writing. In this way, I attempt to broaden the lens in this line of research to include an understudied population within language learning research.

Second, questions of time and place are relevant in any research endeavor. The present study took place 15 years after Menard-Warwick collected her data and in a different region of the country. Specifically, the events in this study unfolded in a large metro area, embedded in the historically politically conservative state of Georgia, in the Southeastern U.S. Overall, Georgia has seen several demographic changes in the last 25 years (U.S. Census, 2016), including receiving over 64,000 refugees from 66 countries between 1990 and 2015¹ (Georgia Coalition of Refugee Stakeholders, 2015). Refugees' most common countries of origin shift in concert with worldwide political conditions; however, for the above time period, at least 900 (and up to 14,000) individuals came to Georgia from each of the following countries (from

¹ Except 2002 and 2003, for which data was not available.

largest to smallest in terms of number of refugees arrived): Vietnam, Burma, Bosnia, Bhutan, Somalia, Russia, Iraq, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Eritrea. Individuals from these countries accounted for 81 percent of refugee arrivals to Georgia (i.e., over 52,000) during those 25 years (Georgia Coalition of Refugee Stakeholders, 2015).

Public responses to these state-level demographic changes have been mixed, with Georgia Governor Nathan Deal complaining that refugees bring “inordinate costs...both socially and economically” (<http://www.ajc.com/weblogs/political-insider/2013/may/18/your-convention-jolt-common-core-condemnation-head/>) and later attempting to refuse resettlement of refugees from Syria in Georgia by executive order, despite this being beyond his authority (Office of the Governor, 2015). As might be expected, his sentiment was not shared across the state. For example, the mayor of “Cadeville,” a nationally and internationally renowned diverse refugee resettlement hub (and where I collected the data for this study), quickly denounced Governor Deal’s executive order, stating his own town welcomed more refugees and that he urged state and federal leaders to adopt the same stance. These local and state level differences unfolded within a national and global phenomenon of increasingly complex and divergent sociopolitical discourse surrounding refugees², which differed in several ways from the social and political climate during which Menard-Warwick carried out her study (Menard-Warwick, 2009).

² See, for example, new laws in Denmark (<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/01/denmark-refugees-immigration-law/431520/>), Australia’s refugee detention centers (<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/18/australias-refugee-policies-a-global-inspiration-for-all-the-wrong-reasons>), Chancellor Merkel’s controversial refugee policies in Germany (<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/01/merkel-germany-refugee-policy/426663/>), Prime Minister Cameron’s recent statements about refugees in the U.K. (<http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/27/david-camersons-bunch-of-migrants-quip-is-latest-of-several-such-comments>), and Japan’s refusal to take in refugees (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/30/japan-says-it-must-look-after-its-own-before-allowing-syrian-refugees-in>), to name a few.

Within Cadeville, the influence of (conservative) Christianity in the provision of social and educational services for refugees is significant (Brunn, Webster, & Archer, 2011; Schwadel, 2005). As in adult basic education in other areas of the country, many federal- and state-funded adult English language education programs partner with churches or other faith-based organizations to carry out their missions, as was the case in the family literacy program where I collected the data for this study. The program received federal funding support³, and was embedded within a larger non-profit organization born out of the work of a Southern Baptist church. Although religious teaching was not part of the organization's official mission, it does share physical space with the church, and all the staff I interacted with self-identified as Christians who took the Bible as true, infallible, and the basis of their ontologies. The work of many staff members was motivated by Biblical mandates such as loving one's neighbor as self, showing hospitality and caring for the needs of strangers, and treating newcomers the same as those born in one's own country. For some of the staff, this included the concomitant motivation of evangelization, however that was not the case for all. Therefore, references to Christian beliefs and God (as understood by the teachers and administrator), as well as celebrations of Christian holidays (i.e., Easter and Christmas, including their accompanying Bible stories), and even Biblical passages all appeared in classroom discourse during my data collection—events and discourse that are less likely to occur outside of a Christian organization within a U.S. region known for its conservatism (Brunn et al., 2011; Crawford, 2005) such as in Oakland, California where Menard-Warwick's research took place. Minimally, Menard-Warwick's many

³ Each U.S. state chooses its own mechanisms for managing and distributing federal adult basic education funds. The program in my study received federal funds via pass-throughs from 1. the Georgia Technical College System and 2. a larger, multi-service non-profit organization for immigrants and refugees. (For more information on U.S. federal pass-throughs: <http://www.grants.gov/web/grants/learn-grants/grant-terminology.html>.)

publications based on the discourse analysis portions of her dissertation make no mention of religious discourse (Menard-Warwick, 2009).

Overall, with this study, my goal is to widen the lens of English language learning research by examining the ways that the language and literacy practices of English classrooms socially position women who migrated to the U.S. as refugees, as well as examining how these women use language and other means (e.g., technology tools) to take up, resist, and create new subject positions (Davies & Harré, 1990) within the routines of their classroom.

To this end, I conducted a linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015) in one English language classroom for refugee women, embedded in a family literacy program. In what follows, I first briefly define key terms for the study and present the theoretical frameworks. Next, I provide a review of literature, outline the study's research questions and methods, then present findings and discuss implications.

1.1 Key Terms and Definitions

In this section, I briefly define key terms that appear throughout this study: literacy/ies, and L2 learning, family literacy, and identity/ies.

1.1.1 Literacy and L2 learning as multiliteracies.

To begin, I understand literacy not as a skill or set of skills to be acquired, but rather as multiple socially, historically, and culturally-situated practices (Street, 2003). As Perry (2009a) wrote,

Literacy practices are the everyday ways in which people use reading, writing, and texts in the world. Rather than a skill to be possessed, literacy practices focus on what people actually do with written language. These practices are shaped by social, cultural,

economic, political, and ideological factors (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Purcell-Gates, 2007; Street, 2001) (p. 258).

I expand upon this, understanding “literacy practices” and “texts” as multimodal (Kress, 2000), such that these include not only written language, but oral language (Baynham, 1995; Bloome et al., 2006), as well as visual, audio, tactile, gestural, and spatial representations (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009, p. 175-176; Hanks, 1989). As such, literacy practices include activities such as storytelling (e.g., Heath, 1983), spoken word (e.g., Fisher, 2003), rap (e.g., Paul, 2000), oral literatures and poetry (e.g., Andrzejewski, 2011), *(narco)corridos* (e.g., Edberg, 2009), graffiti (e.g., Moje, 2000), and digital literacies (e.g., Lam, 2000), to name just a few.

In this way, I understand L2 learning not solely as the acquisition grammar and vocabulary through reading/writing/speaking/listening, but as a web of multimodal, socially, culturally, and historically situated practices. As Watson-Gegeo (2004) explained, “People learn languages in social, cultural, and political contexts that constrain the linguistic forms they hear and use and also mark the social significance of linguistic and cultural forms in various ways” (p. 340). Thus, language and social practices are inevitably linked, a stance that is in line with my chosen methodology, linguistic ethnography, as discussed below.

1.1.2 Family literacy.

Since the focal classroom in this study was embedded within an English-as-additional-language (EAL) family literacy program, an operational definition of family literacy is appropriate. In this endeavor, at least three different phenomena could be defined: 1. the family literacy movement, 2. programs that define their work with the label “family literacy,” or 3. literacy practices that take place within family contexts. Definitions of the first two phenomena are well-established, as I discuss in my review of literature below. For the purposes of situating

the present study, I focus on the third—an operational definition of language and literacy practices that take place within family contexts. Thus, my operational definition of family literacy refers to the practices described above that take place in the context of a family or families—however it is that family is understood by the individuals who engage in the literacy practices in question.

However, for the purposes of this study (and of researching literacy practices in general), I am unconvinced that the descriptor “family” is necessary, or even desirable, unless used to report via which funding stream monies are allocated (see below), or under what rubric a (family literacy) program understands itself. Several scholars have argued and demonstrated that the notion of family has traditionally been under-theorized in family literacy programs and research—and, in the case of family literacy funding, definitions of family have been restrictive (e.g., one- or two-parent household with children) (Cramer, 2014; Shin, 2012). These researchers have made strong cases for expanding definitions of family.

Other scholars utilize the related, but distinct, term “intergenerational literacy,” which may or may not include literacy practices between “family” members (see Weinstein-Shr, 1993 and Isserlis, 1990). However, this term does not account for same-generation family literacy practices, such as those that take place between siblings or cousins (Gregory, 1998).

“Intergenerational literacy” as applied to family literacy also reifies notions of generation(s); in some families, aunts and uncles may be close in age to, or even younger than, their nieces and nephews—and this may or may not be considered “untraditional,” depending on the family’s cultural context. Further, some immigrant and refugee families have lost⁴ family members due

⁴ I purposely use the term “lost,” as some have died, but others have gone missing, and surviving family members are unsure whether those missing are still alive. For example, in work with refugees, it is not uncommon to hear stories of families unexpectedly needing to quickly vacate their homes in the midst of an attack, with different family members fleeing in different directions, and not being able to find one another for two decades or more.

to war, persecution, natural disasters, famine, severe economic hardship, and more. Perry (2009b) illustrates well how the construct of family is significantly altered in the Sudanese community in Michigan as the Lost Boys of Sudan were folded into that community.

Additionally, some families whose lives have been impacted by migration⁵ have not been able to migrate together. Migration journeys are expensive, whether traveling to and attempting to enter a new country through sanctioned processes or via trafficking. Thus, when individuals' physical safety in the home country is not a concern, parents of working age may migrate without their children, who stay behind with their other parent, (a) grandparent(s), (a) sibling(s), or extended family⁶. However, an extreme counter-example of children migrating without their parents or other adults occurred recently as thousands of Central American children migrated to the United States to escape violence in their home countries (see <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-28203923>). Some were resettled with extended family residing in the U.S. or with U.S. foster families. Certainly, the family situations of individuals whose lives have been impacted by migration due to the kinds of hardships listed in this section should lead researchers and practitioners to re-examine and trouble narrow definitions of family—or eschew the term family altogether where appropriate, as a fluid construct that shifts depending on historical, cultural, and social contexts. Thus, in this study, I used the term “literacy practices” (as defined above), without the term “family” in front, unless referring to programming (e.g., family literacy program, EAL family literacy classes, etc.).

⁵ Here, I purposely avoid the term “immigrant and refugee families” for “families who have been impacted by migration” in order to capture the following: those family members who do *not* migrate are still impacted by, and in some sense, are participants in, a family member's migration experiences.

⁶ This phenomenon is well-demonstrated in the movies *Under the Same Moon* and *A Mother's Story*.

1.1.3 Identity/ies.

I understand identity through a lens of social positioning, that is as “a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 585-586). As such, identity/ies can be regarded as multiple, shifting and intersecting subject positions (Davies & Harré, 1990; Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005) that are 1. claimed and ascribed through multiple modes of interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Harré et al., 2009, p. 10) and 2. situated within various “storylines” (Harré et al., 2009; (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, drawing on Bakhtin, 1981) – processes which are “conditioned by the timespace configurations in which they occur” (Blommaert, 2015, p. 3, drawing on Bakhtin, 1981). That is, while identities are fluid and complex discursive constructions, they are simultaneously historically and contextually situated (Alcoff, 2006). As such, identities emerge and operate at multiple timescales (Blommaert, 2015; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586), necessitating at least two things: first, a theory of identity that offers nuanced accounts of both “continuity and change” (Menard-Warwick, 2009, p. 37); second, tools that permit for multi-level analyses across time and space. As I discuss below, linguistic ethnography is well suited for, and intends to accomplish, both of these (Blommaert, 2015; Copland & Creese, 2015).

1.2 Theoretical Frameworks

In this section, I present the philosophical and theoretical frameworks that undergird my study: social constructionism, linguistic ethnography, and social positioning. I end by discussing how social positioning and L2 learning co-inform (Menard-Warwick, 2007a), and putting these in conversation with linguistic ethnography.

1.2.1 Social constructionism.

Ontologically and epistemologically, I situate my research within the broad tradition of social constructionism. I understand social constructionism as a “loose collection of theoretical perspectives” (Burr, 1995, p. 163) characterized by the notion that the world and objects within it are constructed through conventional social interaction (Crotty, 2003). Burr (1995) posits the following tenets of social constructionist paradigms: “...a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge (e.g., the gender binary); historical and cultural specificity of knowledge; ...knowledge (as) sustained by social processes; and knowledge and social action go together” (p. 4-5). Thus, research projects within social constructionist traditions focus on processes of interaction and social practices that unfold between people, centering on “how certain phenomena or forms of knowledge are achieved by people in interaction” (Burr, 1995, p. 7-8). With dual foci of interaction and social processes, social constructionist perspectives lend themselves well to the ethnographic and discourse analytic approaches I take up in this study.

1.2.2 Linguistic ethnography as theoretical stance.

Linguistic ethnography is a relatively recent research approach that emerged in the UK, and which has been influenced by U.S. linguistic anthropology, most notably Hymes’s work in ethnography of communication (1974), Gumperz’s interactional sociolinguistics (1982), Goffman’s myriad theoretical contributions (e.g., Goffman, 1959, 1975, 1981), and Erickson’s work in microethnography (2004) (Copland & Creese, 2015; Creese, 2008; Rampton, 2007; Rampton et al., 2004). In addition to these, linguistic ethnography to-date has also remained open to interpretive research approaches across disciplines, specifically, “anthropology, applied linguistics and sociology” (Creese, 2008, p. 3424) – perhaps at least in part due to the

interdisciplinary climate in which linguistic ethnography began and has continued to develop (Rampton, 2007; Tusting & Maybin, 2007), a point I return to below.

Delineations of what “counts” as linguistic ethnography (LE) are still being negotiated amongst researchers who adopt this term to describe their work (Creese, 2008; Shaw, Copland, & Snell, 2015), and precise demarcations between various approaches to the study of language, culture, and society (including LE) have been called “untenable, given their significant common ground” (Bucholz & Hall, 2008, p. 401). Rather, Bucholz and Hall (2008) write,

the development and spread of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, along with discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and many other approaches, has created an interdisciplinary foundation for the study of language, culture, and society. These fields do not come together under a single disciplinary banner but rather forge an alliance or coalition that fosters dialogue and collaboration between complementary approaches (p. 403).

Thus, I recognize that the descriptions of LE that follow are congruent with, and perhaps mirror, other well-known research approaches, as described above.

Early on, Rampton et al. (2004) put forth that linguistic ethnographic approaches—similar to linguistic anthropology—share the position “that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” (p. 2) – a perspective that appears to have held as LE scholarship continues to shift and shape (Copland & Creese, 2008; Shaw et al., 2015). Further, linguistic ethnographers hold that this dialectic relationship between language and social phenomena unfolds within broader frames of historical, political, social, and economic shifts (Pérez-Milans, 2016, p. 3).

These philosophical stances affirm the social constructionist perspectives that undergird work in linguistic ethnography, which situates itself philosophically within the late 20th-century linguistic and discursive turns which have shaped, and continue to shape, the social sciences and humanities (Copland & Creese, 2015). For linguistic ethnographers, this includes commitments to thinking through their work with lenses of post-modernism (Copland & Creese, 2015) and post-structuralism (Creese, 2008; Pérez-Milans, 2016; Rampton et al., 2004).

1.2.2.1 Language and context-as-process.

The above ontological stances entail at least two things. First, discourse and context cannot be understood as separate entities, but rather co-construct (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015, p. 23, citing Blommaert, 2012, p. 11-12). In other words, context is not understood or analyzed as static backdrop or frame within which actions and interactions unfold; rather,

context is conceived as dynamic, interactively accomplished, and intrinsic to communication. Language is pervasively indexical, continuously pointing to persons, practices, settings, objects, and ideas that never get explicitly expressed, and as people try to make sense to each other, contexts are constantly invoked, ratified, and shifted by semiotic signs (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 26)

It follows, then, that linguistic ethnographies would include fine-grained examinations of micro-level interactions understood not only as shedding light on the here-and-now, but also as part of the processes involved in the ongoing negotiation and construction of broader contexts (Creese, 2008).

Second, understanding (inter)action and social structures as existing in dialogue invites engagement with eternally-thorny questions such as the relationships between structure/agency and macro/micro accounts of phenomena (Erickson, 2004). As Pérez-Milans (2016) explained,

the above ontological and epistemological positions “call our attention to human activities as socially situated practices ordered across space and time whereby human beings engage reflexively and agentively in daily activities while at the same time reproducing the conditions that make these activities possible (Giddens, 1982)” (p. 3). Notably, when taken up from post-modern and post-structuralist perspectives, these tensions have the potential to be quite productive, bringing into relief common suppositions about people and groups, as well as “processes of diversity and change” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 26). In fact, for linguistic ethnographers who conduct their research in professional settings with which they are quite familiar (e.g., former/current teachers in classrooms), an important goal is to create analytic distance, attempting to make that which is familiar strange (Copland & Creese, 2015).

1.2.2.2 Interdisciplinarity and social impact.

As a somewhat new development, it is unsurprising that many scholars who describe their work as linguistic ethnography would trace their disciplinary roots, theoretical positions, and conceptual concerns to many different traditions. Rampton et al. (2004) identified the most common “schools” or traditions as New Literacy Studies (Street, 1993), Interactional Sociolinguistics (as discussed above, Gumperz, 1982), Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995), “neo-Vygotskian research on language and cognitive development” (e.g., Mercer, 1995, 2000), and “interpretive applied linguistics for language teaching” (e.g., Brumfit, 1984; Widdowson, 1984) (p. 9-11). The authors problematize the shortcomings of the last three of these traditions for informing ethnographic perspectives on language, culture, and society (p. 10-11), while also highlighting, first, the ways all five have co-informed within LE circles and second, their shared focus on the practical applicability of research. Rampton (2007) explained that this practical focus is one outcome of interdisciplinarity in which “central problems are

much more likely to emerge from ‘real-world’ processes outside any one discipline,” and in which theory serves as a resource for “problem-solving” rather than problem-posing (p. 594)

A logical complement to this “commitment to practical intervention in real-world processes” (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 37) is linguistic ethnographers’ engagement with professionals from outside academia. For example, Snell, Shaw, and Copland’s (2015) recent edited volume highlights linguistic ethnographic research that aimed to impact on the practices of teacher education, journalism, health professions, and police work, to name a few—in some cases, collaborating with and/or engaging non-academic professionals in learning and carrying out linguistic ethnographic research themselves. This allows professionals to “problematise pervasive ideological frameworks that still dominate the idioms of major public policies” and “also provides tools to address issues that concern them professionally and have practical relevance” (Pérez-Milans, 2016, p. 9). Nevertheless, it is still unclear how much linguistic ethnographic research has contributed to social change, leading Shaw et al. (2015) to urge researchers to communicate findings in new ways with a variety of media (p. 12). It is important to note that the practice of crossing professional boundaries entails questioning traditional, modernist notions of several ontological, epistemological, methodological, and ethical perspectives – amongst them, the notion of “professional boundaries” as real borders available for crossing, or as discursive constructions available for deconstruction.

1.2.2.3 Combining linguistics and ethnography.

Although both linguistics and ethnography are highly contested, we can say that each offers different perspectives, concerns, and methodological/analytic tools to linguistic ethnographic work (Rampton et al., 2004, 2015). For example, orientations toward data collection, what “counts” as evidence, researchers’ role(s), goals of research, and even “the

representative functions of language” are some of the tensions that emerge as we put linguistics and ethnography in dialogue (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, p. 576). Despite these, LE researchers point out that this dialogue is productive, if not essential, for understanding the ways that language, culture, and social life co-inform. Several LE researchers emphasize this dual focus, repeating across publications that linguistic ethnography entails the following:

i.(that) the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed.

Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories, and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically;

ii.(that) analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signaled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain. (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 18; Rampton, 2007, p. 585)

In addition, Rampton (2007) and Creese (2008) argued that linguistics and ethnography have the potential to refine one another: as “ethnography opens linguistics up” and “linguistics (and...discourse analysis) ties ethnography down” (Rampton, 2007, p. 596), this “strengthen(s) the epistemological status of ethnography and sharpen(s) the analytic relevance of linguistics” (Creese, 2008, p. 1).

Creese, Kaur Takhi, and Blackledge (2015) take the dialogue between linguistics and ethnography one step further, understanding linguistic ethnography not as the blending of two separate traditions, but rather as a single unit (p. 268). Drawing on Hymes’s (1968, 1974) arguments that a new approach to research in language(s) and culture(s) was needed, these

authors put forward, “Our view is that the study of language and social life should be viewed as unitary” (Creese et al., 2015, p. 268).

1.2.3 Social positioning.

In this study, I also draw on social positioning theories (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) to better understand the ways that the women in this study negotiate identities within their classroom, (Menard-Warwick, 2007a; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Social positioning theories understand interactions as comprised of a three-part structure: positions, storylines, and speech acts (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). I take up each of these below.

1.2.3.1 Positioning. Of these three parts, positioning is the discursive process through which individuals are assigned, take up, resist, and craft subject positions within various “storylines” (Harré et al., 2009), described further below. In other words, positioning is “an event of identification, in which a recognizable category of identity gets explicitly or implicitly applied to an individual” (Wortham, 2004, p. 166). Positions may be more-or-less fixed, like “roles”; one example is the position of “mother,” which figured prominently in the present study; this is called “moral positioning” (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 21). People may also be positioned according to “individual attributes and particularities”; this is called “personal positioning” (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 22). For instance, the position of “agentic learner,” which appears in the findings of this study, is much less fixed, as a learner may position herself differently in another moment, under different circumstances.

Positionings can be reflexive (i.e., taking up subject positions for oneself) or interactive (i.e., assigning subject positions to others) (Davies & Harré, 1990). They are also not limited to individuals: organizations, universities, media outlets, political parties, and nations (to name a

few) all engage in reflexive and interactive discursive positioning via multiple modes such as “words, signs, gestures, architectural conventions, and so on” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 10). In this sense, we can think of discursive social positioning as multi-modal and mediated by various means—not only by language, but also by mobile phones and e-tablets as seen in the present study.

Further, people or entities (e.g. companies, nations, etc.) not only identify and locate themselves in relation to one another; these locations imply a “loose set of rights and duties that limit the possibilities of action” (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5). These rights and duties are considered part of the “local moral order” (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 1). For example, in common practices of formal schooling, the subject position of teacher is accompanied by the right to take the floor in the classroom whenever desired and to speak authoritatively on a variety of subjects. It also implies the duty of preparing to teach class each day and prioritizing students’ educational progress above other issues that may impinge upon teachers’ work, such as standardized testing. The subject position of student, on the other hand, entails the duty to speak at socially-approved times (e.g., not during tests, not when the teacher has the floor). Other subject positions affiliated with formal schooling, such as administrator, coach, counselor, come with other rights and duties.

1.2.3.2 Storylines. Pinnow & Chval (2015), drawing on Harré & Moghaddam (2003) describe storylines as “patterns of interaction that tend to unfold in particular kinds of social arenas” (p. 2); in this way, storylines can help in illuminating social norms (Yamakawa, Forman, & Ansell, 2009). For instance, in the data for this study, the focal teacher taught about cultural practices surrounding Valentine’s Day drawing primarily on a storyline of marriage based on romantic love. One learner interrupted that storyline by telling of her own marriage in South

Sudan based on principles of exchange (in her case, her husband exchanged cows to have her as a wife), introducing a different storyline for marriage and highlighting that storylines are informed by time, space, and cultural models (Holland & Leander, 2004). Logically, storylines and subject positions co-inform; “The positions people take in a conversation will be linked to these storylines” (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 17).

1.2.3.3 *Speech acts.* Early conceptualizations of social positioning drew on more traditional linguistic definitions of speech acts (e.g., Austin 1962). However, recent theoretical developments expand the focus of “speech acts” to include actions and multimodal meaning-making; thus, for researchers and theorists of social positioning, speech acts are generally understood as “socially significant actions, intended movement, or speech that is interpreted as socially meaningful” (Majid Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 44, drawing on Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). For instance, in data for this study, the focal teacher regularly used a long pointer stick to guide the class in choral reading; the action of picking up the stick and pointing at a text on the wall was socially meaningful, demonstrated by the fact that learners followed her lead. Joy’s action and the learners’ response also demonstrate how “the social force of speech or action and the position of the participants mutually determine each other” (Majid Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 44). That is, utilizing the pointer stick reinforced Joy’s position as teacher—just as her position as teacher gave her the right to use the pointer stick to lead the class.

1.2.3.4 *Social positioning and social reproduction.* Although positioning is not necessarily deliberate (Harré et al., 2009), it nonetheless frequently involves ascribing and reproducing real or imagined differences in “power, competence, moral standing, or other attributes” (Allard & Mortimer, 2008, p. 27, drawing on van Langenhove & Harré, 1994). Therefore, *social positioning* can be understood as part of the ongoing and shifting processes of,

and challenges to, social reproduction. Holland and Leander (2004) explain, emphasizing social reproduction,

positioning (can) be seen as part of broader, productive processes. In these broader processes, people, problems, and places are culturally imagined, socially produced, and achieve (or not) a relatively durable existence in the social and personal lives of a population of people. Positioning, then, involves socially producing particular individuals and groups as culturally imagined types such that others and, even the person herself, at least temporarily, treat her as though she were such a person (p. 130).

Despite the top-down orientation of the above authors, many scholars point out that the discursive processes of social positioning provide “a resource through which speakers and hearers can negotiate new positions” (Davies & Harré, 1990). Davies and Harré (1990) emphasize agentic aspects of positioning when they describe subject positions as “*possibilities* in known forms of talk; position is what is *created* in and through talk as the speakers and hearers take themselves up as persons” (p. 62, emphasis mine). Thus, in the ongoing tensions amongst social theorists vis-à-vis structure/agency and macro/micro (to name a few), social positioning provides space for agency and a less deterministic way of understanding social processes, while also constraining what is possible by actors.

1.2.3.5 Orders of social positioning. Within this three-part structure (position, storyline, and speech act/ion), positioning is either first-order, second-order, or third-order (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). First-order positioning is simply the introduction of positions by participants in interaction, who draw on storylines in the local moral order (ibid., p. 20). Second-order positioning describes the ways a first-order positioning is “questioned and negotiated” (ibid., p. 20) in the moment. For instance, in the data for this study, one of the common

classroom interactional patterns was initiation-response-feedback (i.e., IRF; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), in which initiations were generally performed by the teacher, thus positioning learners as “responders.” Occasionally, however, learners re-negotiated their positioning by interrupting IRF sequences and positioning themselves as “initiators”; this is described in more detail in Chapter 4.

Third-order positioning is meta-level discussion surrounding positioning that has already transpired (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 21). For example, a professor once addressed my classmates and me as scientists—an example of first-order positioning. Later that day, I told a colleague what had transpired and that I did not identify as a scientist. My comment was an instance of third-order positioning.

1.2.4 Putting it together: Social positioning, L2 learning, and linguistic ethnography.

The work of educational linguists and L2 learning researchers who have taken up social positioning theories (e.g., (Wortham, 2004, 2006; Menard-Warwick, 2007a; Talmy, 2004) points to the opening up and shutting down of opportunities for learning as social positioning unfolds discursively moment-by-moment in classroom settings. Menard-Warwick (2007a) cogently argues that social positioning and L2 learning are not separate phenomena, but rather that these co-inform as they occur concurrently. Her data bear this out. For example, in an adult EAL classroom activity related to vocations, one of the Latina participants contested the teacher’s and curriculum’s interactive positioning (Harré et al., 2009) of her as a homemaker. Her self-positioning (i.e., reflexive positioning, Harré et al., 2009) led to the opportunity for her to learn words and grammar surrounding the profession she had in her home country, which she also desired to pursue in the U.S. Menard-Warwick points out that “reflexive (self) positioning...tends to foster expanded dialogue and more opportunities for creative language use

than does interactive positioning, in which identities are assigned by interlocutors (Davies & Harré, 1990; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001)” (p. 271). Therefore, according to these data, effective and learner-sensitive L2 pedagogy would seem to entail teachers providing opportunities for learners to engage in self-positioning (i.e., reflexive positioning, making identity claims), as well as teachers tuning in to, accepting, and designing learning within those positionings (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Menard-Warwick, 2007a).

Taking up these questions of social positioning and L2 learning from a standpoint of linguistic ethnography connects our here-and-now, classroom-focused analyses with broader concerns across contexts and scales. For example, an LE perspective on adult EAL classroom discourse could aid in illuminating not only classroom dynamics, but common assumptions about adult language learners’ real-world opportunities for social inclusion (Allman, 2013)—in addition to contradictions in those opportunities, such as the ways the opportunities are (or not) consistent with learners’ valued language and literacy practices and experiences beyond the classroom.

In summary, linguistic ethnographers’ work to investigate “the construction and robustness of social categories and categorization processes,” as well as “taken-for-granted assumptions about groups, categories and peoples” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 26) is congruent with the focus of researchers who take up questions of social positioning – as the latter examine the discursive processes of categorizing individuals and entities (e.g., Wortham, 2006), including those processes that are so familiar they are hidden in plain sight (e.g., Holland & Leander, 2004). As such, linguistic ethnography is well suited for exploring the social positioning of refugee women in an EAL family literacy classroom setting.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I accentuate ways that women who have experienced migration are both interactively and reflexively positioned in contexts of L2 learning and family literacy programming in the United States. Since my study takes place in an EAL family literacy program, I begin by examining the ways that family literacy is and has been defined and by whom, highlighting the rights and duties (Harré, et al., 2009) implied in these definitions, as well as the ways the definitions socially position families and, by extension, women in those families. Next, I turn to scholarship related to L2 identity/ies and the English learning and socialization of women in contexts of migration. There, I highlight literature that addresses how two subject positions that are particularly salient in family literacy contexts (i.e., mother and wife) shape women's L2 learning and socialization experiences. (As I discuss at more length below, readers will note that it is more common for L2 researchers to define their work in terms of "identity/ies," although social positioning is certainly at play in their data.) Finally, I discuss the ways that my proposed research extends existing research related to discursive social positioning and women's L2 language and literacy practices in contexts of migration.

2.1 Family Literacy Definitions

Scholars have noted that it is difficult, or perhaps even impossible, to define family literacy (DeBruin-Parecki, Paris, & Siedenburg, 1997; Weinstein-Shr, 1993). One of the difficulties is that this term has alternately been used without definition, as well as defined and utilized differently by various speakers and writers, for different audiences, and for different purposes (Hendrix, 1999; Weinstein-Shr, 1993). Naturally, these many usages—which sometimes conflict—could render a term somewhat fuzzy.

Because definitions and usages of the term family literacy have shifted and been added to over time, one useful way of attempting to understand the term is to examine it historically; this reveals accompanying conceptual changes attributed to it. Since the practice of family literacy frequently also involves several stakeholders (e.g., parents, children, teachers, administrators, researchers, policy makers)—with differing forms of capital and professional, personal, and political entailments—another useful way to understand family literacy is through the lens of social positioning and the concomitant rights and duties of positions. That is, in the different conceptualizations of family literacy outlined below, who is positioned as having the duty to learn something new and/or change their practices, and for the benefit of whom? Thus, in this section of the paper, I discuss major conceptual definitions of family literacy, generally from a historical perspective, and I also draw attention to the ways in which each definition positions stakeholders vis-à-vis rights and duties in the family literacy endeavors described.

2.1.1 Family literacy as a research area.

The term family literacy was initially used to describe family literacy practices as a phenomenon. In the United States, it was first coined by Taylor (1983) in her classic study of the ways parents and other adults socialized preschool children into literacy through sharing books, writing together, and pointing out environmental print. In that work, Taylor did not provide an operational definition of family literacy; however, she did conceive of literacy as passed along from one generation to the next through social processes, and as “part of the very fabric of family life” (p. 87). Some other studies at the time took similar approaches (Heath, 1983; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzales, 1992; Teale, 1986). This line of research tended toward naturalistic studies of literacy practices within families and communities, with a focus on children’s socialization into literacies and their academic performance (Anderson, Friedrich, & Kim, 2011;

Hannon, 1999; Isserlis, 1990). In other words, these scholars' focus has been "the observation and description of literacy events that occur in the routine of daily lives" (Morrow et al., 1993, p. 197). Compton-Lily, Rogers, and Lewis (2012) aptly name this body of work "family literacy scholarship," which they define as "a loosely defined group of scholars, researchers, and educators who have attended to literacy-related beliefs and practices in families" (p. 34).

One of the main tenets these scholars have in common is their definition of literacy in general. For most (if not all), literacy is a social practice (Heath, 1983; Street, 1985) whose meanings and purposes are shaped by sociocultural contexts (Auerbach, 1992; Luke, 2003). Thus, a definition of family literacy for these scholars would likely include the above—within the context of families. Increasingly, scholars of family literacy practices also take up a multiple literacies perspective (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000), acknowledging the multiple modalities through which meaning is expressed (e.g., Anderson & Morrison, 2011; Gregory, 1998; Haneda, 2006; Perry, 2009a; Williams and Gregory, 2001).

In this view of family literacy, researchers do not suggest that the families they study should necessarily change their literacy practices; indeed, some did not (or do not) explicitly connect their work to formal schooling or to children's academic performance (e.g., Heath, 1983). Rather, a frequent aim was, and continues to be, ethnographic: to help educators, policy-makers, and the public better understand families' and communities' existing literacy practices (as well as families' emic perspectives related to these) to dispel deficit-oriented myths about these, especially in the cases of families who are plurilingual, speakers of non-privileged dialects (e.g., African-American English; Latino English), and/or who are classified as "low income." In some cases, this research was also intended to inform school-based literacy instruction (e.g., Britto, 2001; Marsh & Millard, 2000; Moll et al., 1992; Purcell-Gates, 1996; Volk & DeAcosta,

2001; amongst numerous others)⁷. In other words, this line of research interactively positions families (and by extension, women within those families) as experts in historical, community funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992). From this perspective, women's rights and duties do not involve changes in language or literacy practices, but they may involve the duty of keeping and passing along cultural and linguistic heritage to children.

2.1.2 Family literacy as program area.

Although naturalistic research of family (and community) literacy practices such as that described above continues (e.g., Perry, 2009a, 2009b), in the late 1980s, the term family literacy also came to denote educational programming, eventually essentially subsuming the use of the term in reference to anything other than family literacy *programs* (Hannon, 1999; Purcell-Gates, 2000). Over a decade ago, Hannon (1999) warned of the political nature of this shift in definition, writing,

Sometimes it is only restricted (family literacy) programmes⁸ that are referred to as if there were no other kind. Such are the resonances of the words 'family' and 'literacy' at the present time that it is a great rhetorical advantage for politicians and advocates of certain kinds of programmes to be able to refer them simply as 'family literacy.' The rightness and merit of such programmes for funding seems irresistible (p. 124).

It seems that little has changed. At the outset, and still today, programs that go by the moniker family literacy generally intend to engage parents or other significant adults (e.g., grandparents, tutors, neighbors, extended family) in supporting children's literacy development, frequently for the ultimate purpose of supporting their school-based learning (Hannon, 1999;

⁷ This is not to say that researchers do not or have never taken up deficit stances toward families and their literacy practices. Rather, in a historical tracing of the use of the term family literacy, the earliest conceptualizations were as I described—and these have carried forward in some scholarship, despite shifting definitions of family literacy.

⁸ Hannon (1999) offers the following definition of "restricted programmes": "family literacy programmes which combine adult basic education for parents with early literacy education and parental involvement" (p. 121).

Purcell-Gates, 2000). In this way, these programs target families with children (some using broad definitions of “family”), thus excluding adults or couples without children. Many different rationales undergird these programs; however, the common thinking was, and remains, that it is important and necessary—and, in some cases vitally urgent—to influence the home literacy practices of families through combining instruction in early childhood, adult literacy and/or EAL, and parents-and-children together time (Hendrix, 1999).

Such programming takes various forms, all of which shed light on the definition(s) and purposes of family literacy taken up by program designers. To begin, Nickse’s (1990) categorization can be helpful. She identifies four types of programs, classified by the intended direct beneficiaries of the programming: “(1) direct adults-direct children; (2) indirect adults-indirect children; (3) direct adults-indirect children; and (4) indirect adults-direct children” (p. i). For example, a type 3 family literacy program might consist of programming for adults only (e.g., adult literacy, parenting advice, and recommendations for literacy activities to do with children at home), while a type 1 family literacy program may include programming for both parents and children, as well as facilitated and interactive literacy activities to do together – commonly known in the U.S. as Parent and Child Together Time (i.e., PACT time).

On the other hand, Weinstein-Shr (1993) classifies family literacy programs according to three different overarching goals: first, early childhood and school readiness intervention; second, those that aim to impact children’s “...skills, attitudes, values, and behaviors linked to reading” (Nickse, 1990, p. 23); and last, those that support children’s in-school learning. Although programs frequently pursue the latter through school-home partnerships (Dudley-Marling, 2009; Isserlis, 1990; Morrow et al., 1993), programs utilize various means for accomplishing all three of the above goals, including but not limited to activities such as adult

literacy and EAL programs with a family literacy component (e.g., Prins et al., 2009; Toso, 2010); at-home reading programs (Isserlis, 1990); book lending programs (Come & Fredericks, 1995); sending information from school to parents regarding reading with children at home (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1994); engaging parents in their children's classrooms as visitors, tutors, or aides (Rivera & Livan, 2012; Weinstein-Shr, 1993); and school- or community-hosted family literacy nights.

In short, in many (or perhaps most) definitions of “family literacy program,” families learn from others (e.g., schools, non-profits, libraries, etc.) how to “do literacy” in their homes. If and when programs take such a compensatory stance toward families and their literacy practices, they position families (and women) as deficient and with a duty to adapt, or entirely change, their home literacy practices. Proponents argue that these changes are necessary for the benefit of children, for society, and for the U.S. to be competitive in the global marketplace (Auerbach, 1995, Chall & Snow, 1982); critics argue that it is for the benefit of teachers and school performance (Auerbach, 1989).

2.1.3 Family literacy as legislated and privately-funded activity.

Finally, entities that provide funding or other support for family literacy programs provide yet another source of definitions for family literacy. An overview of funders' family literacy definitions is particularly important since individuals and organizations seeking financial support must make a case for how their work is a match for funders' giving priorities. As non-profit family literacy programs go about seeking funding, Isserlis (1990) warned against mission drift, “Are missions revised to incorporate funders' directions? Who sets the direction[s] in which the dollars flow? How prepared are we to meet the mandates of new funding trends and to what degree do we agree with the slant of those trends?” (p. 11). Here, non-profits face a conundrum:

their clients contribute little, if anything, to covering costs (unlike for-profit businesses, or tuition-charging institutions), so they must seek outside funding to continue their work. Garnering a competitive grant provides both the funds to operate *and* legitimates the organization and their services—thus also legitimizing the discourses and rhetoric that permeate their grant application(s), as well as the promised program assessment measures therein. (For non-profit organizations, there is no way around this, except the lengthy and costly process of building and maintaining an individual donor base.) In this way, funders hold considerable power to influence the ways in which family literacy is defined and carried out, and thus, the public discourses and rhetoric which serve to socially position women and families who enroll in family literacy programs.

2.1.3.1 *Government funding.*

In the United States, authorization for the funding of family literacy programming comes under several pieces of federal legislation. Here, I home in on the law that funds adult basic education—and within that funding stream, family literacy programming: WIOA, or the Workforce Innovation and Opportunities Act (2014). This law re-authorized the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act of the Workforce Investment Act (1998) or AEFLA, which defines family literacy as follows:

(7) Family literacy services. The term ‘family literacy services’ means services that are of sufficient intensity in terms of hours, and of sufficient duration, to make sustainable changes in a family, and that integrate all of the following activities: (A) Interactive literacy activities between parents and their children. (B) Training for parents regarding how to be the primary teacher for their children and full partners in the education of their children. (C) Parent literacy training that leads to economic self-sufficiency. (D) An

age-appropriate education to prepare children for success in school and life experiences (Workforce Investment Act of 1998).

In this legislation, mothers are positioned as “primary teachers for their children” who do not know how to carry this out, as well as less-than-adequate allies for their children’s teachers and schools, and deficient in the literacy “skills” necessary to provide for their families’ economic well-being. Here, women have the right to participate in free educational services—with the concomitant duty to change their parenting and literacy practices in prescriptive ways.

2.1.3.2 Private foundation funders.

These include both corporate and family foundations. For the purposes of this paper, I focus on the two largest foundations I encountered in my searches, in terms of annual giving to family literacy.

2.1.3.2.1 Toyota family learning.

This branch of Toyota U.S. does not clearly define family literacy in its online presence. However, as a family literacy program funder, it provide a glimpse into its vision for what “counts” as family literacy through its giving priorities; these are similar to those laid out in AEFLA—with the addition of online/digital literacies, as well as family service-learning, “...online and offline intergenerational learning programs for vulnerable families, built on four cornerstones: Parent Time, Parent and Child Together (PACT) Time, Family Service Learning, and Family Mentoring” (Toyota Family Learning and NCFL Partnership, 2015.)

Since Toyota Family Learning is a longstanding partnership (in existence since 1991) between Toyota’s national corporate giving program who funds the work, and the National Center for Families Learning (NCFL, formerly the National Center for Family Literacy) who carries out the work, it could be argued that the definitions taken up by the latter would apply.

However, it is difficult to find a clear definition of family literacy on NCFL's website. In a recorded webinar from March, 2012 entitled "Educating Two Generations," which intended to "help to define family literacy for our times," the following definition was provided:

What is Family Literacy? Family literacy turns the parent/child relationship and home into an engine for progress and upward mobility. It is the shared learning experiences between parents and children that expand essential literacy skills and behaviors in the home. As a result, multiple generations acquire the tools necessary to compete in and contribute to today's society (<http://www.familieslearning.org/our-capabilities/educating-two-generations.html>).

Here, women in family literacy programs are socially positioned as deficient gears in capitalist machinery ("parent/child relationship as...engine for progress and upward mobility"), who are not yet capable of "competing" and "contributing" to the societies in which they live. In other words, a mother's duty is to learn skills so that she and her children will be more "competitive" and begin to "contribute" to their nation's and community's economies. It is unclear what constitutes a "contribution" (perhaps paying higher taxes?), or why it is perceived that families are currently falling short in making "contributions."

2.1.3.2.2 *Dollar General Literacy Foundation.*

This foundation provides funding for family literacy programs based in the U.S. following U.S. federal government guidelines, "Organizations applying for funding must have the following three components: (a) Adult Education Instruction; (b) Children's Education; and, (c) Parent and Child Together Time (PACT)" (<http://www.grantsoffice.com/GrantDetails.aspx?gid=26496>). Unlike Toyota Family Learning, the Dollar General Literacy Foundation does not partner with one specific organization in its

family literacy grantmaking program. Rather, it funds individual, non-profit-based family programs up to \$15,000 per year. The foundation's website states that it follows the federal definition of family literacy, as described above (<http://grantsoffice.com/GrantDetails.aspx?gid=26496>).

In summary, different groups have taken up different conceptualizations and definitions of family literacy to accomplish different discursive, educational, and political purposes. Each definition positions families and other stakeholders differently, and requires different kinds of rights and duties in changing practices surrounding literacy/ies and programming. As I reviewed these positionings, two things struck me. First, according to these definitions, funders—both private and governmental—are never positioned as having a duty to change their practices vis-à-vis other family literacy stakeholders. As those who control funds, they always have the right to define, and demand changes from, others. Second, in none of these definitions do families (including women in those families) have the right to define family literacy or to position other stakeholders.

Overall, families, as socially positioned by these government and private funders, have a duty to take on new literacy “skills” (Toyota Family Learning/NCFL, 2015), implying several things. First, in these definitions, literacy is singular (not multiple) and a skill (not a social practice) that an individual has or does not; this has the effect of removing literacy practices from their social, cultural, and historical contexts. Second, these “skills” are “new” and “essential” (Toyota Family Learning/NCFL, 2015), which again positions families and mothers as deficient. In other words, families—and women as families' primary literacy workers (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Luttrell, 1996)—have a duty to change their ways of doing and being vis-à-vis language and literacies, so that they would not only have better lives, but so the economy and society in

general would be stronger (Graff, 1979). An alternative viewpoint, taken from some early family literacy researchers, might include that schooling systems (including policies, curricula, teachers), workplaces, and public discourses create hierarchies of literacy practices by privileging certain ways of acting and interacting (Auerbach, 1992; Luke, 2003).

In the next subsection, I turn to the literature on social positioning and L2 learning with women in migration contexts. Here, I follow the terminology used by the researchers whose work I review, using “identities” and “social positioning” interchangeably.

2.2 Identities and Women’s L2 Learning in Migration Contexts

Previous research that explored questions of identity and L2 learning with women in migration contexts has included findings related to gendered identities (Norton, 1995, 2000, 2012; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Warriner, 2004), social class (Blackledge, 2001; Block, 2005; Butcher & Townsend, 2011; Kim, 2011) and ethnic identities (Blackledge, 2001). Despite growing interest in questions of race and sexuality amongst L2 identity researchers in general (e.g., Kubota & Lin, 2009; Norton, 2012; *TESOL Quarterly* Special Issue on Race and TESOL, 2006), few studies exist in those areas that include women who have experienced migration (however, see the work of Baynham, Cooke, Gray and colleagues in the seminar series related to “Queering ESOL” <https://queeringesol.wordpress.com>). Of these identity categories, gendered identities have been the primary focus of scholars who carry out L2 identities research with women who have immigrated to North America, particularly since Norton’s (1995) germinal work in this area. In their review of gender and L2 learning, Pavlenko and Piller (2008) identify four main themes: “gendered access to linguistic resources,” “gendered agency in language learning,” “gendered classroom interaction,” and “gender in the curriculum” (p. xxx). The authors point to numerous studies with immigrant/refugee women that demonstrate the first

theme (i.e., “gendered access to linguistic resources”), many of which are now well-known (e.g., Goldstein, 1997; Norton, 2000; Tran, 1988; Warriner, 2004). However, studies with immigrant/refugee populations were not represented in the other three themes, minus two exceptions: Frye (1999) and Nelson (2004), whose articles center on questions of curriculum and instruction. This is not an oversight on Pavlenko and Piller’s behalf; rather, their overview aptly describes many of the studies that *explicitly* took up questions of gender and L2 learning at the time of their writing.⁹

In my review of the literature related to English language education for women who have migrated to North America, I find similar themes as those found by Pavlenko and Piller (2008). Since many rich and multi-layered studies related to gender and L2 learning have been carried out, including entire books dedicated to the topic (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2012; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), my review will not be comprehensive. Rather, I zero in on that which is most salient considering my own research site (i.e., a family literacy program for refugee mothers and their children): the gendered subject positions of wife and mother, and the ways that these shaped L2 learning experiences for the women in these studies. In my review, I drew on literature from adult EAL literature, as well as adult EAL embedded within family literacy contexts. Finally, although I present the subject positions of wife and mother in separate sections, and for some women this separation is appropriate (e.g., married women without children, single mothers), these subject positions were certainly interwoven in the lives of many women, as illustrated below.

⁹ Perhaps a slight oversight is the exclusion of Menard-Warwick’s (2004, 2005) and Skilton-Sylvester’s (2002) work in this area.

2.2.1 Subject position of wife and L2 learning.

Previous research in this area has primarily pointed to the ways in which married immigrant women's participation in classroom-based L2 learning is constrained by gendered cultural expectations surrounding their roles as wives. This may be due to husbands, partners, or others (e.g., parents-in-law) who are controlling of women's movements outside the home, and/or who feel threatened as the balance of power in their relationships shift as wives gain more education (Rockhill, 1990; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002). For example, husbands or partners may control the circumstances under which women may leave the house, thus restricting women's access to classes if the partner's conditions are not met (e.g., the "trusted friend" who gives her a ride to class is not available, the partner "needs" her to do something at the time class takes place, etc.; Garrett-Hatfield, 2008). Unlike U.S.-born women, immigrant women's partners may use immigration status or upcoming immigration procedures to control women's movements via threats or coercion (Garrett-Hatfield, 2008). For example, spouses and partners may attempt to impede their immigrant female partners from taking citizenship exam preparation classes, from filling out applications for U.S. citizenship, they may hide her mail from the immigration authorities or claim it was lost, they may try to prevent her from going to her citizenship exam, or figure out ways to cause her to miss her citizenship ceremony (Pettitt, in preparation). Women that are out of status (i.e., undocumented) face an additional layer of vulnerability as their partners may threaten to report the women to immigration authorities if they do not comply with demands (Garrett-Hatfield, 2008). Additionally, a woman whose immigration status is tied to her husband's through sponsorship may find her husband threatening to withdraw his sponsorship if she attends classes.

Other forms of control may be less overt or presented (perhaps disguised?) as necessary for the family overall. For example, Skilton-Sylvester's (2002) participant Ming was attending English classes until her husband noticed that her social network was expanding; he decided she would begin working 10 hours a day, six days a week at a sewing shop in Chinatown. This was presented as a change to benefit the family financially. It also served to impede Ming's further participation in English classes and thus her English language learning, as she would be working in a predominantly Chinese-medium workplace. Ming described the situation as follows, "My husband doesn't want me to go to school. Maybe I will find a boyfriend....He doesn't want me to learn English because maybe I will run away" (Skilton-Sylvester, 2002, p. 17). Ming's experiences are not unique; we see echoes of them in the findings of Garrett-Hatfield (2008) and Menard-Warwick (2007a), amongst others. Frye (1999) urges researchers and practitioners to be aware of the delicate balance of social relations within which literacy lies and of the possible, sometimes negative, outcomes for students when they seek empowerment and change in their lives...male resistance does not have to take the form of overt violence for a woman to censor herself (p. 503).

As Weinstein-Shr (1993) relays, "...issues of power and authority have an important impact on schooling" (p. 118)—and thus on women's opportunities for L2 learning and shifts in their social positioning within communities of migration.

At the same time, women who have experience navigating controlling or abusive relationships may have devised ways to circumvent some of the consequences. Toso (2010) and Garrett-Hatfield (2008) report that women in their studies who were both wives and mothers and needed to placate their partners in order to have "permission" to go to EAL classes positioned themselves within "good mother" discourses, drawing on the early childhood education offerings

of family literacy programs, in their arguments to their partners (Toso, 2010, p. 121). In this way, these women agentially reformulated the discourses of “good mother” for their own purposes, calling upon their duties within that subject position (i.e., provide education for their children), thus leveraging services intended for their children to obtain the educational access they desired for themselves.

An important caveat is necessary. Of course, gendered domestic conflicts are not the case across the board for women in general, nor for women who have experienced migration. Women’s husbands and partners—as well as children and extended families—may be important forms of social capital, crucial in accessing resources in their new countries and serving as cultural and linguistic buffers (Butcher & Townsend, 2011). However, in cases where conflict is part of women’s daily reality, it is perhaps understandable that some may postpone or stop attending classes in order to seek more relational stability or attend to familial demands, as one of Toso’s (2010) participants did.

It is also worth noting that married women may change their participation in English classes without overt control or abuse issues within their homes. For example, Skilton-Sylvester’s (2002) participant Lang, who was engaged at the time of the research, anticipated she would stop attending English classes after her wedding. Her primary investment in taking English classes was tied to her duties as a cashier in her family’s business; since she would stop working when she got married (i.e., her position as wife would take precedence over working outside the home), she would also stop attending English classes – “not because her husband opposed it” (Skilton-Sylvester, 2002, p. 16).

Additionally, gendered positioning does not necessarily constrain immigrant women’s participation in classroom-based L2 learning; sometimes, it expands these opportunities or does

not immediately appear relevant to their L2 learning experiences at all. Some married women in my review of the literature had the financial and/or cultural options to *not* work outside of the home, which allowed them more time to study when that was their chosen investment (Butcher-Townsend, 2011; Norton, 2012). For example, Kim's (2011) participant Sandra and her husband migrated to Canada from South Korea in order to "experience the intangible, life-enriching cultural diversity of a foreign country" (p. 108). Because Sandra's husband's income supported them both financially, she was able to enroll in the English courses that she felt would benefit her professionally over the long run, as well as alternate between attending classes and working when she wanted to, "to increase her opportunity to practice English in everyday settings, not to support herself or her husband financially" (p. 108). Similarly, Norton's (2012) participant Katarina and her husband planned for her to stop working her part-time unskilled job and to use the family's resources so she might to take an 18-month-long computer course. Her (and her family's) goal was to eventually obtain more skilled work and an economic standing that more closely approximated what they had before migrating from Poland.

Here we see that Sandra's and Katarina's L2 learning experiences were mediated by their and their husbands' various forms of economic and social capital, which are generally highly valued in dominant, white, middle-class North American communities: bachelor's degrees, previous white-collar professional work experience, and prior English study, to name a few. Not only do Katarina and Sandra (and their husbands) embody the middle-class logic of education leading to better employment opportunities (despite the fault in this logic in the case of immigrants and refugees, see Warriner, 2007), they have the symbolic capital and material resources that are necessary in the short-term in order to follow through with their plans: the option to work (or not) if and when they want to, and both options contribute to their L2

learning. Further, for Sandra and Katarina, having these options was directly related to the rights linked to their subject positions as middle-class wives; they likely would have faced different rights and duties if they had been single and/or needed to work to support themselves or their immediate or extended families.

Although her circumstances were different, Skilton-Sylvester's (2002) participant Soka's subject position as wife also appeared to open up opportunities for her classroom-based L2 learning. Soka's husband struggled to learn English and needed more time to work to provide financially for their family. Thus, as a couple, they decided that Soka would be primarily responsible for the language and literacy demands of their home. With the support of her husband, Soka took up this role enthusiastically, prompting her teacher to say she learned "with a vengeance" (p. 16).

Finally, another of Skilton-Sylvester's (2002) participants, Sundara, provides a revealing counter case. Her position as wife did not appear to shape her participation in classroom-based L2 learning (p. 17); rather, her position as mother was much more salient for her, the point I take up next.

2.2.2 Subject position of mother and L2 learning.

Mothers who have experienced migration must navigate a complex landscape of "gendered cultural imperatives" (Menard-Warwick, 2009, p. 35). Adult EAL classes and EAL family literacy programs in particular (with their curricular focus on parenting), play an important role in these women's shifting reflexive subject positioning as mothers across the multiple cultural boundaries they are navigating. In North American contexts, family literacy in particular is widely understood as a constellation of gendered practices and programs (Auerbach, 1989; Clark & Hoffart, 2007; Cuban & Hayes, 1996; Hendrix, 1999; Luttrell, 1996; Rogers,

2003; Smythe & Isserlis, 2004). This is demonstrated in a number of ways, including the numbers of women and men served in U.S. family literacy programs, as well as family literacy program and funder discourses that index mothers more frequently than fathers (Anderson, Lenters, & McTavish, 2008)—in at least one case, at a rate of two to one (Toso, 2010). One of the few studies that examined gender in relation to mothers in EAL family literacy programs comes from Menard-Warwick (2009); she found gendered discourses to be pervasive in those family literacy classrooms. Her participant Fabiana captured this well,

My school and my husband's school are different. [...] They don't teach him, for example, about what if a child falls down, what if a child has a wound that swells up. [...] They don't teach him that children need to eat vegetables. They don't teach him those kinds of things, things that are very interesting that they teach us in my school, because we have children (p. 58).

With Fabiana, we see again that L2 learning is connected to the ways her school's curriculum and instruction positioned her as a mother, and differently than her husband's school positioned him. Similar findings were found across Menard-Warwick's data.

Fabiana's report of these positionings is perhaps unsurprising, in that they echo broader societal discourses surrounding motherhood and family literacy. In an examination of family literacy materials, which included manuals, brochures, and listservs, Smythe and Isserlis (2002) found that the materials privilege two-parent families in which "women occupy the domestic sphere of child raising and men occupy the public sphere of work outside the home" (p. 30). A later study of texts over the last two centuries yielded similar results (Smythe, 2006). Thus, these authors write,

Institutions that promote family literacy policies and programs, such as schools, government education departments, and welfare agencies, are shaped by *mothering discourses*: culturally bound beliefs and values that inform society's definition of good mothers, normal families, and, by extension, appropriate literacy, and parenting practices in the home (Smythe & Isserlis, 2002, p. 25, italics in original).

Unsurprisingly, several of the mothers in the studies I reviewed connected their desire to enroll in English classes to their positions as mothers; this was a common factor in prompting women to invest in learning English (Butcher & Townsend, 2011; Garrett-Hatfield, 2008; Menard-Warwick, 2005, 2009; Norton 1995, 2000, 2012; Wharton & Eslami, 2015; Whiteside, 2006). In the next subsections, I look at how the discourse of “good mother as children’s first teacher” permeates and informs the ways that women in these studies take up the subject position of mother, and the ways this shapes their L2 learning.

2.2.2.1 *Good mother as children’s first teacher.*

Many of the mothers in these studies saw themselves as their children’s primary teachers—an echo of the broader societal mother-as-family-literacy-worker discourses circulating in the U.S. (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Luttrell, 1996), as well as in family literacy programs themselves (Anderson, Lenters & McTavish, 2008); Auerbach, 1995; Smythe, 2006). As Trini, one of Menard-Warwick’s (2009) Latina participants shared, “So when I began to have children, I began to want to learn (English) so I could teach them” (p. 93). Unfortunately, for some of the mothers, the duties that accompany the “first teacher” discourse entailed a sense of powerlessness or personal failure related to their English language or literacy resources, including uncertainty in how to help children with homework or in teaching their children to

read, or depending on their children to explain schoolwork (Hutchison, 2001; Rivera & Lavan, 2012; Weinstein-Shr, 1993).

Others had more positive experiences within this discourse. For example, the mothers in Rivera and Lavan (2012) appreciated participating in PACT time in their children's elementary classrooms during the school day because it helped them support their children's school-based learning at home, and served both to strengthen the bond between mothers and children surrounding school-based learning, as well as shifting the mothers' identities to that of educational "role models" for their children (p. 254).

Part of being children's primary teachers was being aware of how their children were doing in school. For some, this involved getting more precise insights into their children's school performance by observing them first-hand in class during PACT, knowing their children's teachers and communicating with them (in English), and knowing their children's friends (Rivera & Lavan, 2012). In a different study in a different region of the country, an Early Start family literacy program drove home the importance of mothers' responsibility in being aware of children's progress through outside surveillance, specifically, requiring mothers to hand in their children's report cards to the Even Start staff—even the children who were too old to enroll in the family literacy program. The children's report cards were subsequently filed in the mothers' files, not the children's (Toso, 2010). Although these researchers do not make this connection, it is clear that the mothers in these studies were being socialized into these U.S. educational institutions' ways of "doing school," including learning the language needed to carry out the duties surrounding the subject position of "good mother."

2.2.2.2 Navigating shifts and ambivalence within “good mother” discourses.

The position of mother and its intersection with English was not without ambivalence or conflict. For example, Garrett-Hatfield’s (2008) participants described their need to learn English as “desperate,” and not being able to accomplish what they wanted to in English as a source of guilt and shame in their identities as mothers (p. 102). For others, adding English classes to their traditionally-gendered domestic duties—as well as, for some, working outside the home in order to help make ends meet financially—put too many demands on them and they stopped attending (Butcher & Townsend, 2011; Kouritzen, 2000; Norton, 2012; Whiteside, 2006). Others put off their own English educations either temporarily or more long-term when they became pregnant, and others did so because they felt it would benefit their families. For example, Menard-Warwick’s (2009) participant Camila initially stopped English classes when she became pregnant; her teacher told her husband that she was leaving class too much to vomit and should stop attending. She did not return so that their family could save the \$70 per semester tuition money, either to save toward a house or for her son’s education. However, Camila’s and her family’s investment in her participation in English classes changed several years later: As she watched TV in Spanish one day, her husband scolded her, warning that their bilingual children would eventually enter adolescence, would be able to engage undesirable activity in English if they wanted to, and she, as their mother, would not even know. By discursively positioning Camila as her children’s primary caretaker, with the concomitant duties that accompany this position (as well as his own gendered authority as her husband), Camila’s husband’s words impacted her. She started watching TV in English instead of Spanish, learned numbers on *Wheel of Fortune*, began taking her kids to the library to get books in English, and watched *I Love Lucy* with captions on so frequently she eventually memorized every episode.

She enrolled in adult EAL classes a few years later, when the family moved to a location that gave her access to classes just a few blocks from her children's school, during the hours that her children were in school. In other words, Camila returned to school when it did not seem to conflict with her traditionally gendered positions of mother and wife – and when the discourse of what constituted “a good mother” changed for her family.

2.2.3 Social positioning and women in migration contexts.

Taken together, the above studies show that women who have migrated may experience tension between multiple, competing and gendered duties, such as traditional domestic household tasks, the physical care of family members across generations (including extended family), pressures to work outside of the home (whether due to economic need or taking on a neoliberal “independent mother” discourse), and external expectations to learn and engage in a culturally-informed type of hands-on parenting rooted in White, U.S. middle-class norms (Hutchison, 2001; Toso, 2010). Further, these demands can shape women's access to and experiences of L2 learning. In a survey of over 100 Latina EAL students, 68 percent of the women believed they “could devote more time to school with more support from spouses/partners” (Muro & Mein, 2010, p. 146). The opportunity to learn, and learning itself, can disrupt established culturally-informed gender roles and destabilize relationships (Garland, 2009). This may be especially difficult as newcomer families negotiate and navigate shifting identities in new and unpredictable cultural spaces (Gordon, 2009).

With their emphases on questions of power and access, the above studies also demonstrate that social positioning was at play in the lives of these women and influenced their L2 learning—despite that the researchers did not draw on theories of social positioning to understand the women's experiences. I found only three studies that explicitly understood

women's identities and L2 learning (or socialization) experiences in terms of social positioning, i.e., Blackledge (2001), Hutchison (2001), and Menard-Warwick (2007). Of these, only Menard-Warwick's study takes place in North America. Further, most of the studies reviewed above drew on data elicited during interviews or diary studies. Only Menard-Warwick (2007a) utilizes classroom interaction data to understand social positioning to understand how this "may "impede or enhance (women's L2) language socialization" (p. 270).

In this study, I follow Menard-Warwick (2007a), carrying out a close examination of interaction in an EAL class for refugee women to better understand the ways that the women are positioned and the ways that this shapes their L2 learning experiences. I also extend her work in several ways, as described in the introduction to my study; here, I highlight only two of these. First, I focus on a diverse class of women who came to the U.S. as refugees, and whose formal schooling was interrupted in their home countries. Thus, my research brings this work into multilingual, multiethnic contexts, shedding light on a typically-overlooked population: multilingual women at beginning levels of reading and writing in any language. These women may be learning for the first time in their lives how combinations of sounds are represented in print, how to hold pencils and write their own names, yet have rich language and literacy practices that are not privileged in most formal schooling environments, and may even be unrecognizable as such to many adult EAL teachers and administrators in the U.S., as well as to L2 researchers. Second, I extend Menard-Warwick's (2009) line of research, as I examine ways learners self-positioned utilizing multimodal texts and tools.

2.3 Research Questions

The research questions for my study were grounded in my theoretical frameworks: linguistic ethnography and social positioning. To reiterate, similar to contemporary

understandings of ethnography in general, linguistic ethnography shares a focus on understanding “the social meanings and activities of people in a given ‘field’ setting...(in order to develop) knowledge of the social world” (Brewer, 2000, p. 11) and eschews essentialist notions of culture(s) as fixed collections of beliefs, values, and practices of a particular ethnic group, understanding culture(s) rather as discursive constructions, continually in flux and contingent. Further, it takes language(s) and culture(s) as a single unit of analysis, “attempting to understand the relevance of signs in ongoing communicative activity and situated social action” (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 16). Thus, in the case of my study, “social meanings” and “relevance of signs” refer to the social positioning that is enacted through multimodal and mediated language practices in the “field” of an EAL family literacy classroom for women refugees – with the purpose of better understanding the “social world(s)” these women are simultaneously embedded in and shaping, both within and beyond their classroom. The following questions guide this study:

1. (a) What are the institutionally-valued language and literacy practices of an adult English class embedded within a family literacy program for women who came to the U.S. as refugees?
- (b) How do these practices position the learners?
2. (a) What are the learners’ language and literacy practices within the context of this classroom?
- (b) How do these practices position the learners?

3 METHOD

This chapter describes my research path—from design through analysis and findings—including: research context and participants, data collection and analysis, and trustworthiness. I

also include a statement of positionality and discuss ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Design

This study was designed as a linguistic ethnography. As described above, linguistic ethnography entails the theoretical stance that language and social life shape one another, within (or constructing, for some scholars) conditions of historical, political, social, and economic change (Copland & Creese, 2015; Pérez-Milans, 2016; Rampton et al., 2004). As Copland and Creese (2015) wrote,

Linguistic ethnography views language as communicative action functioning in social contexts in ongoing routines of peoples' daily lives. It looks at how language is used by people and what this can tell us about wider social constraints, structures, and ideologies (p. 27).

From the standpoint of methods, then, we expect scholarship that describes itself as linguistic ethnography to 1. Examine and describe routines and everyday activities of the social context under study; 2. Analyze language and describe how it is used; 3. Connect these analyses to broader historical, political, social, and/or economic concerns. Below, in the sections related to data collection, data analysis, and expected outcomes, I describe the methods employed to accomplish these three goals and address the research questions.

3.2 Research Setting and Participants

Data collection for this study was carried out in an adult EAL classroom embedded with a family literacy program for refugee women and their children; for purposes of this study, I refer to that program as “Refugee Education Center” (REC). REC was housed within a larger, church-based, non-profit organization that aimed to serve the refugee communities that had

recently been resettled in Cadeville. Due to historical refugee resettlement policies, many refugees had arrived in Cadeville over the 15 years prior to data collection for this study. As of 2014, it was estimated that over 53 percent of Cadeville's population of 7,717 was born outside of the U.S. (with 12 percent of the overall population having arrived in the U.S. within the previous 12 months), over 40 countries were represented in the town's one square mile, and nearly 60 percent of the population over age five spoke a language (or languages) other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). These are important changes, considering that Cadeville's population was 90 percent White in the mid-1980's (Rossenwasser, 2012). These changes have contributed to the town's fame: more than one national best-selling nonfiction novel is set there, and national public television programming has twice profiled this small town as a case study of the changing nature of U.S. ethnolinguistic landscapes (Rossenwasser, 2012). Through prior work in immigrant and refugee communities in the metro area where this study took place (i.e., non-profit board service, adult EAL teacher development, teaching adult EAL, grant writing consulting, and data collection for this dissertation), I noticed that the name Cadeville evoked myriad meanings and imaginings amongst my interlocutors—even those who have never visited Cadeville—such as linguistic diversity, cultural diversity, compassion, conflict, hope, helplessness, and more. These are some of the historical, political, and geographical spaces within which the REC, and the focal classroom for this study, were situated.

Cadeville's diversity was mirrored in the women enrolled at REC, who hailed from Burma, Bhutan, Afghanistan, the Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, and Liberia, amongst others. (As REC's intake process did not involve asking learners their home countries and/or countries of migration, nor what languages they used, school-wide demographics reported here are based on data collected from the research participants [i.e., learners in the focal classroom],

and casual conversations with students from other classes.) During data collection for this study, over 150 women were enrolled at REC, each bringing anywhere from one to three children with her to school. Only women with children were eligible to enroll; thus, all learner participants in this study were women (i.e., no men or childless women were enrolled). REC offered five levels of EAL for refugee mothers (from Beginning ESL literacy through High intermediate ESL)¹⁰, early childhood programming for the women's children, infancy through age 5, and special programming, described below.

Both mother and child (or infant) were required to register for the program at the same time; school-level discourse surrounding the program's goals centered on preparing children for kindergarten and making English classes available to women that might otherwise need to find childcare to attend. This was in line with REC's website, which reported the organization's activities were grounded in the belief that refugee mothers learn English best when they are supported as mothers, and when a mother's learning also fosters the literacy development of her children. To this end, adult teachers at REC were asked to incorporate early childhood content in instruction. An early childhood coordinator regularly updated the adult EAL teachers on early childhood curricular themes and provided some materials and activity ideas for integrating early childhood content, such as children's books and songs. On one occasion, the coordinator came into Joy's class to teach learners the songs their children were learning, so that mothers and children could practice together at home (field notes, February 20, 2015).

In order to facilitate regular attendance of women and their children, REC's program calendar followed the local public-school calendar, as many of the women attending REC also

¹⁰ For the present study, level names and descriptors are drawn from the National Reporting System, used in the United States for Adult Basic Education, which includes adult ESL programming (see www.nrsweb.org).

had school-aged children. The mothers' class levels ranged from pre-literacy to intermediate, and most women had experienced interruptions in formal schooling prior to settling in the U.S. Classes met on either a two-day or three-day-per-week schedule. The focal class for this study met each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m.

Every morning, strollers lined the long downstairs hallway that led to the children's early childhood classes (see Figure 1). Directly upstairs, the women attended their English classes from 9 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. For the last 30 minutes of class (11:30-12) special programming took place: On Mondays and Fridays, the mothers and children came together for 30 minutes of Parent-and-Child Together Time (i.e., PACT, described in Literature Review above). On Wednesdays, the mothers' classes all gathered for 30-minute educational assemblies, while the children stayed in their early childhood classrooms. The topics of educational assemblies generally centered on the women's subject positions as mothers and wives: discipline and parenting, children's health, enrolling children in school, support for women experiencing domestic violence, to name a few.



Figure 1. Strollers lining the early childhood wing of REC.

REC was chosen as the research site because the student body is a match for answering the research questions, which center on the L2 language and literacy socialization of refugee women who have experienced interruptions in formal, school-based learning. REC was also a unique site for exploring these questions due to its important historic, political, and geographical situatedness.

The focal classroom in this study was “Level 2,” led by the teacher “Joy.” This level roughly corresponded to the National Reporting System’s (NRS) Low Beginning ESL (www.nrsweb.org), although the REC did not specifically take up NRS descriptors. Learners

were placed based on their performance during an oral interview and on a written test developed by REC staff (see Appendix A for images of this test). Generally, learners at REC's Level 2 could identify and write the letters of the English alphabet; could use pencils and other writing utensils; could provide basic personal information (e.g., name, address, phone number) orally; could understand basic greetings, simple questions, and simple phrases; could speak slowly; identify common signs in the community (e.g., stop signs). Many of the women in Level 2 were beginning to read and write for the first time in their lives (e.g., forming and orienting letters, writing left to right, putting spaces between words, wrapping text, using capital letters and punctuation). Most of the learners in Level 2 had experience using mobile technologies (e.g., cell phones), and less experience using traditional computers, evidenced by their difficulties using a mouse to point and click, using common key strokes (e.g., the space bar to place spaces between words, the shift key to capitalize, the backspace button to delete errors, etc.) As described in more detail below, data collection took place over the course of eight months. During fall semester, most of the learners were return students to the REC, i.e., they had attended the previous year. At the beginning of spring semester, new learners were admitted who had never attended the REC before.

I chose Level 2 as the focal classroom in this study for three main reasons. First, the student population: it was a diverse classroom, with more than 10 ethnic groups represented and all of the women in it had experienced interruptions in formal schooling. Table 1 below lists the learner research participants for this study (all were members of Joy's class), their self-reported ethnic and/or linguistic identifications, self-reported home country or state, years of prior schooling, and pseudonyms for this study. (I acknowledge there is debate whether "Myanmar" or "Burma" is proper when referring to the lands constituting that country. Throughout this

paper, I retain the usage of the learners in Joy’s classroom: “Burma” for the country and “Burmese” for the corresponding nationality and/or linguistic and ethnic identifications, when appropriate.)

Table 1. Learners in Joy’s class.

Pseudonym	Linguistic and/or ethnic self-identification(s)	Self-reported home country/state	Years of prior schooling
Afia	Pashto	Afghanistan	6
Neda	Pashayi	Afghanistan	3
Sadia	Dari	Afghanistan	6
Daw Ngai Pai	Chin	Burma	4
Yaw Shen	Zo/Chin	Burma	4
Hung Shen	Zo/Chin	Burma	0
Hla	Burmese	Burma	6
Htet	Ma Tu/Chin	Burma	0
Pam Hung	Zo	Burma	0
Chriki	Kirundi	Burundi	0
Adwa	Kounama	Eritrea	0
Aster	Amharic	Ethiopia	3
Selam	Tigrinya	Ethiopia	3
Lamiya	Arabic	Iraq	6
Paw Wah	Karen	Karen State	0
Eh Say	Karen	Karen State	0
Aisa	Mandingo	Liberia	0
Halima	Fur/Arabic	South Sudan	0
Sahra	Arabic	South Sudan	4
Abuk	Arabic	South Sudan	0

Second, through previous interactions with Joy in other professional contexts, I had become interested in studying her classroom specifically. Her professional background included

elementary licensure as well a master's degree in applied linguistics and, although Joy's master's program focused on teaching EAL in post-secondary academic settings, she was simultaneously working at REC with women EAL learners who were emergent readers (i.e., learning conventions of print, sound-symbol correspondences, etc.) She relayed that her passion was teaching the women at REC, so she actively sought ways to connect her graduate studies to that teaching context, including choosing course electives that focused on adult education beyond higher education, such as *Adult Learning* and *Adult Basic Literacy in the U.S.* I had met fewer than five professional adult EAL-literacy teachers whose training included both elementary licensure and adult education, despite the burgeoning research base on adult EAL-literacy pedagogy pointing to the importance of drawing on classroom literacy practices from early childhood and elementary contexts, and adapting these for use with adult EAL learners with interrupted formal schooling (Vinogradov & Bigelow, 2010). Studying Joy's class was an opportunity to observe this in action. Further, in previous interactions with staff and administrators at REC, I observed that Joy was regarded by her colleagues as one of the most skilled teachers in the school; she was regularly called upon to provide insight and feedback into the program's challenges related to assessment, her input at teacher meetings was generally heeded, and many of her teaching colleagues replicated her classroom activities. Based on the above, I supposed that ethnographic and discourse data from Joy's classroom would yield interesting insights related to the research questions.

Third, through previous interactions with Joy, I knew her to be a reflective, flexible, and open teacher. She was quick to open her classroom to others and continually interested in others' observations and perceptions of her teaching and students' progress. I suspected she would welcome a researcher's ongoing presence in her classroom, and the opportunity to reflect

on her teaching with an outsider to the REC, if she desired it. This did appear to be the case when I approached Joy to participate in the study.

In this way, at all levels, the choice of research site and focal classroom was an example of “mixed purposeful sampling” (Patton, 2002, p. 242), in that I used a combination of types of purposeful sampling in this study (i.e., criterion sampling, operational construct sampling, and, at the outset, snowball sampling).

3.3 Data Collection

Like ethnography, linguistic ethnography is characterized by fieldwork using a variety of data collection methods, prolonged engagement in everyday contexts in a community or communities, direct participant observation, a continually-evolving research design, and a focus on emic perspectives (Brewer, 2000; Davies, 1999; Hammersley, 1990; O’Reilly, 2012; Patton, 2002; Pole & Morrison, 2003; Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

The first phase of data collection for this study centered on participant-observation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011) at REC. During this eight months of classroom-based data collection, October, 2014-May, 2015, I zeroed in on one focal classroom for women who had come to the U.S. as refugees, serving the dual role of classroom assistant and university-based researcher. See Table 2 for a list of data sources by research question, and Appendix B for a table of data collected.

Table 2. Data sources by research question

Research Question	Data Sources
<p><i>Question 1</i></p> <p>a. What are the institutionally-valued language and literacy practices of an adult English class embedded within a family literacy program for women who came to the U.S. as refugees?</p> <p>b. How do these practices position the learners?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Field notes from observations 2. Class video and audio recordings 3. Photographs (e.g., class activities and environment, student work) 4. Interviews with teacher and administrator
<p><i>Question 2</i></p> <p>a. What are the learners' language and literacy practices within the context of this classroom?</p> <p>b. How do these practices position the learners?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Class video and audio recordings 2. Field notes from observations 3. Photographs of class activities 4. Artifacts (e.g., copies of student work, informational flyers)

During classroom-based data collection, I conducted observations, took field notes, and audio-recorded classes during most of the hours the women's class was in session: Monday, Wednesday, Friday from 9am-11:30am. Field notes consisted of observational data and my emergent reflections on those data, recorded after class. See Appendix C for an example field note.

Audio recordings totaled 105 ranging from :29 to over one hour in length. I also took 1,038 photographs of classroom activities, as well as of the class and school environment (Banks, 2007), and collected classroom and school artifacts (e.g., copies of student work, informational school flyers). I took short video recordings of classroom activities when students communicated they felt comfortable with this; these totaled 39 videos, ranging from :32 to 6:33 in length.

Additionally, I conducted one audio recorded interview with the administrator, as well as various types of interviews with the classroom teacher: semi-structured interviews (Patton,

2002), informal interviews (Agar, 2008) with and without stimuli (i.e., videos or photos taken during a class activity), and interviews using the “go-along technique” (Kusenbach, 2003). Kusenbach (2003) describes the “go-along” as an informal interview that takes place as the researcher and participant(s) are in transit from one place to another. The “go-along” was a particularly important tactic in this research context due to the focal teacher’s work schedule. Because the teachers at REC were paid only for their classroom contact hours, most left school grounds soon after class concluded. In order to make ends meet financially, Joy departed as quickly as possible in order to arrive on time to a second teaching job; during several months of this study, she had three part-time teaching jobs. Thus, scheduling time for even a short formal interview with Joy was quite difficult at times, and using the time that she and I walked to our cars together proved to be an effective way to hear her immediate thoughts about the day’s activities. Five of the interviews with the classroom teacher were audio recorded, ranging in length from three minutes to over two hours. Two of the teacher interviews were video recorded, ranging in length from 15 minutes to 35 minutes. I recorded the remainder in field notes, including the “go-along” interviews. The second phase of data collection (February-October, 2016), I conducted two interpreted, semi-structured interviews each with three focal students; the dates and lengths of each interview appear in Appendix B. See Appendix D for IRB-approved interview protocols.

3.4 Data Analysis

This subsection explicates the approaches to data analysis employed in this study. For research questions one and two, I conducted thematic analysis (Saldaña, 2012). For research question two, I added an additional layer of analysis, utilizing three analytic tools from microethnographic discourse analysis (Bloome et al., 2006), as described below.

3.4.1 Research question one.

To answer the first research questions, “What are the institutionally-valued language and literacy practices of an adult English class embedded within a family literacy program for women who came to the U.S. as refugees? How do these practices position the learners?” I conducted thematic analysis (Saldaña, 2012) within NVivo across the data set. I defined “institutionally-valued” as those practices taken up by Joy, as she was the main representative of REC present in the classroom on a daily basis. Beginning with field notes, photographs, and videos, then moving to interviews, I engaged in bottom-up coding; this entailed both *descriptive* and *process* coding (Saldaña, 2012), aligning codes with the study constructs (language/literacy practices and social positioning) to seek patterns within the data. (For example, for “language/literacy practices,” I looked specifically for Joy’s use of mediational means (e.g., language, technology) and the ways these accomplished positionings of learners through actions and speech.) Descriptive codes “assign labels to data to summarize...the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data” (Saldaña, 2012, p. 262), while process coding entails using “gerunds...to connote observable and conceptual action in the data” (ibid., p. 263; in a sense, process codes can be understood as analogous to Gumperz’s [1977] tripartite conceptualization of speech activities). For instance, “mother discourse” is a descriptive code, and “reading together” is a process code.

The process described above was followed by categorization of codes to determine emergent themes across the data set (Creese, 2015; Saldaña, 2013). This included looking for counter-cases to those patterns (Creese, 2015, p. 74). Specifically, I printed out a list of every code generated, with the knowledge there were too many: 83. I cut up the codes by hand, spread them on the table, and looked-for duplicates or codes that could be merged, e.g., “learning

names” was merged into “learning about each other.” After merging codes, I grouped them and assigned parent codes. Some groups of codes were given a new parent code; for instance, “mother discourse,” “mothers learn for children,” and “mommy-baby time crossover,” were all given the new parent code “motherhood.” Some codes were grouped and a parent code emerged from within; for example, “looking up texts on phones,” “taking pictures with phones,” and “phones,” were all grouped under the parent code “phones.” Figure 2 shows this stage of my analysis process.



Figure 2. From codes to categories

Next, I taped each parent code and its child codes onto one or more sheets of 8.5 x 11 paper. I placed the 8.5 x 11 sheets on a large table and arranged them so that common parent codes were placed together to create categories; I worked through several different arrangements of parent codes to arrive at categories. For example, the parent codes “top-down literacy activities,” “bottom-up literacy activities,” and “technology/literacy,” were grouped into the category “literacy.” Finally, I looked for themes amongst the categories: Saldaña (2012)

explains, “Unlike a code, a theme is an extended phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/ or what it means” (p. 267). For example, the categories “mother” and “literacy” and “student,” were combined into the theme “social norms,” as the data for those codes spoke to teaching learners about social norms (as seen in the section entitled “Social positioning and daily language and literacy routines,” Chapter 4).

3.4.2 Research question two.

For the second research questions, “What are the learners’ language and literacy practices within the context of this classroom? How do these practices position learners?” I defined learner’s language and literacy practices as those practices taken up without direct instruction from Joy to do so. I began by identifying themes, utilizing the same analysis procedures as those described above. Next, I added an analytic layer, drawing on four analytical tools of microethnographic discourse analysis: turn-taking, thematic coherence, intertextuality, and intercontextuality (Bloome et al., 2006). I utilized these tools to carry out discourse analysis for the findings that appear for the first half of research question two (i.e., “Social positioning through turn-taking). For the findings that appear for the second half of research question two (i.e., “Social positioning and mobile technology use”), I drew mainly on the construct of intertextuality.

3.4.2.1 Turn-taking.

Bloome et al. (2006) forgo analytic methods that focus solely on *counts* of turn-taking in interaction; rather, these authors adopt methods that focus on “participation structures (in turn-taking) (e.g., Au, 1980; Phillips, 1972; Shultz, Florio, & Erickson, 1982), which can be defined as shared expectations among participants regarding the patterns of turn-taking protocols for a particular type of situation or event” (Kindle Location, 1529-1532). For instance, as described in

Chapter 4, the participation structure “Initiation-Response-Feedback” was common in Joy’s classroom—a participation structure that has been documented in many other classrooms, as well (e.g., Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). An examination of this participation structure—and exceptions to it, as in Chapter 4—“provides evidence and a picture of the social dynamics involved in the construction of social identity” (Bloome et al., 2006, Kindle Location, 6390-6391).

3.4.2.2 *Thematic coherence.*

According to Bloome et al. (2006) thematic coherence is “the organization of a set of meanings in and through an event” (Kindle Location. 1735-1736). For example, when a teacher states that the class will be reading a text surrounding 1800s-era slavery in the U.S., both learners and the teacher can presume that classroom discourse will center on that theme, as seen in the findings surrounding research question two in Chapter 4 of this paper. In other words, thematic coherence “answers...the questions ‘What is this event about?’ and ‘What is it that they are all talking about?’” (Bloome et al., 2006, Kindle Location, 1738-1739).

Of course, classroom discourse does not always follow one theme from the beginning to the end of a lesson. For instance, in classrooms of language learners, it is common for the teacher and learners to shift from discussing a specific theme (e.g., slavery in the U.S., as mentioned above), to the meaning of a specific word (e.g., freedom). Bloome et al. (2006) state that when a new theme is introduced, it “has to be made clear to all of the participants, and they have to ratify the shift either explicitly or by following the shift through their subsequent responses” (Kindle Locations, 1755-1756). In my analysis of audio recorded data, I considered “participants” in an interaction to be those whose contributions could be heard (i.e., those who made an utterance), despite that others were present and silent throughout the interaction; it

would be difficult to establish whether the thematic shift was clear to those who were silent. For example, in the data excerpt “Teachers’ Day” in Chapter 4, as Joy was teaching about what to do in various kinds of emergencies, Sadia took the floor to ask, “uh teacher America one day President Day one day Valentine Day one day of Teacher Day?”—thus proposing a thematic shift from “emergencies” to “holidays,” and the possibility of a Teachers’ Day celebration in the U.S. The next 12 turns centered on the theme of Teachers’ Day and involved five participants: Sadia, Yaw Shen, Joy, me, and an unidentified learner. Although other learners were present, it is unknown whether the shift in theme was made clear to them.

3.4.2.3 *Intertextuality.*

Bloome et al. (2006) define intertextuality as “the juxtaposition of texts” (Bloome et al., 2006, Kindle Location, 2093). These authors explain that intertextuality involves, one text lead(ing) to another (as occurs when the writing of one letter leads to the writing of another, or when the buying of a theater ticket provides admission to a play). It is commonplace to view any text as indexing many others, imbued with the voices of many people and many past texts (Kindle Location, 2094-2096).

I align with Castanheira et al.'s (2001) expanded definition of intertextuality; these authors write, “Intertextuality refers to the ways that knowledge and texts generated in one event become linked to, and thus a resource for, members’ actions in subsequent events” (p. 357). Although analyses of intertextuality have traditionally focused on relationships between written texts, Bloome et al. (2006) emphasize that intertextual connections can also be made with oral, electronic, pictorial, and graphic texts; that is, intertextuality can be multimodal. For example, again utilizing the example provided above (i.e., “Teachers’ Day”), as Sadia inquired about Teachers’ Day, she drew on her knowledge about other U.S. holidays—developed at least in part

in class with Joy—which served as a resource for her to ask about the possibility of a new holiday. In other words, the intertextual relationship she proposed was based primarily on classroom conversations surrounding, and celebrations of, holidays—not written texts.

3.4.2.4 *Intercontextuality.*

Related to intertextuality is the construct of intercontextuality, that is, “the social construction of relationships among contexts, past and future” and “social events and contexts” (Bloome et al., 2006, Kindle Location, 6920). Brister & Walzer (2013) drawing on Hesford, (2011), expand on this definition, describing intercontextual reading as “pay(ing) close attention to internal and external contextual references the text makes as well as to be reflexive about the interpretation and production of texts within and against normative discursive frameworks” (p. 145). As described above, for the purposes of this study, I understand “reading” as the interpretation of texts and “texts” as multimodal (Bloome et al., 2006), to include conversations and pictures. Thus, for example, when a learner told the story of her wedding in South Sudan during classroom conversation surrounding weddings (see “My country not like that,” Chapter 4), she made a contextual reference that illuminated how her experiences differed from the normative discourses surrounding romantic love taken up until that point during the class—specifically, discourse surrounding weddings and the classroom activity of making Valentine’s cards.

Similar to the construction of “thematic coherence” (discussed above), Bloome et al. (2006) propose that intertextual and intercontextual connections are socially constructed, not given; they write, “To claim that an intertextual connection has been constructed, it must have been proposed, acknowledged, recognized, and have social consequence” (Kindle Location, 2103-2104). In the analysis for research question two, I recognize that learners’ proposals of

inter(con)textual connections were not always acknowledged, recognized, nor had clear social consequences by/for others. Regardless, I argue that the mere proposal of an inter(con)textual connection by a beginning-level language learner—particularly a learner with little-to-no prior experience learning in formal, school-based settings—sheds light on how that learner is making sense of her classroom-based learning experiences.

3.5 Credibility and Trustworthiness

Within social constructionist paradigms, reality is continually in flux, impossible to fix (Maxwell, 2005). This implies that our data—whether numbers, recordings, artifacts—are not reality themselves, but rather “representations of reality” (Merriam, 2009, p. 213), always partial and contingent. This stance challenges us in our attempts to evaluate research, prompting us to look beyond realist criteria for forming our judgments. Instead of asking, “Are the findings real and true?” we might ask questions such as, “Are the findings *credible* given the data presented?” (Merriam, 2009, p. 213) and “Are the findings *trustworthy*?”

Merriam (2009) offered seven ways to establish credibility and trustworthiness: triangulation, member checking, prolonged engagement in the field, soliciting peer feedback, researcher reflexivity (or simply, “...clarifying researcher biases and assumptions”), establishing an audit trail (i.e., “describing in detail how the study was conducted and how findings were derived from data”), and by “explaining the assumptions and theory underlying the study” (p. 234). I address each of these in turn, minus explaining underlying assumptions—which was addressed earlier—and researcher reflexivity, which appears in the next section.

3.5.1 Crystallization.

In place of the two-dimensional concept of triangulation, I aligned with the multi-dimensional notion of “crystallization (which) provides us with a deepened, complex, and

thoroughly partial understanding of the topic” (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). The contradiction in “thoroughly partial understanding” is certainly not lost on Richardson, who writes from post-structuralist perspectives. The notion that partial understandings are thorough aligns with social constructionist perspectives for judging research, as described at the beginning of this section—unsurprising since post-structuralism falls under the umbrella(s) of social constructionism (Burr, 1995).

Drawing on and modifying Denzin’s (1978) discussion of different types of triangulation, I worked toward crystallization through multiple means: collecting different types of data (e.g., participant observation, audio-recordings, and photographs were all be used to corroborate one another), collecting data from different sources (e.g., conducting participant observation at different times and spaces, such as on a field trip; interviewing the teacher, an administrator, and learners, etc.), analyzing data via more than one analytic tool (e.g., thematic analyses, microethnographic discourse analysis), and examining data through more than one theoretical frame (e.g., linguistic ethnography and social positioning).

3.5.2 Member checking and prolonged field engagement.

The classroom-based data collection took place over the course of eight months of engagement, in which I was present in the classroom as a participant-observer two to three times a week (most frequently three times) for the duration of the class—arriving with or before students, leaving with or after them. During that time, as I developed theories about my observations, I regularly checked those out with the teacher, both informally in conversation, and as part of follow-up interviews (described above in Data Collection section). During data analysis and write-ups, I emailed findings to Joy to request her feedback. I encountered some challenges in conducting learner member checks, as discussed below in “Limitations.”

3.5.3 Peer feedback.

I utilized a weekly writing partner. She offered to help me with my research, since I have helped with hers. That peer was further along in her program and had previously provided useful feedback to me in my work. I queried her to continue to do so on a once-a-month basis minimum, and consulted another peer who was at a different stage in her program, and who had become an important “critical friend” (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 69), to exchange work to provide feedback to one another.

3.5.4 Audit trail.

I kept a researcher journal to document my thinking, as well as the choices I made in my research. This allowed me additional data to retrace my steps and provided detail regarding how I conducted the study. I also logged data as it was gathered, assembling an electronic file not only of the data itself (e.g., a file with photographs, a file with audio recordings, etc.), but also a separate record of everything contained in those files. Further, I housed my data in two secure places external to my laptop computer.

3.6 Researcher Positionality and Ethics

Pillow (2003) cogently argues for new kinds of reflexivity, stating,

Self-reflexivity acknowledges the researcher’s role(s) in the construction of the research problem, the research setting, and research findings, and highlights the importance of researcher becoming consciously aware of these factors and thinking through the implications of these factors for her/his research. In this way, the problematics of doing fieldwork and representation are no longer viewed as incidental but can become an object of study themselves (p. 179).

To this, I would add that each lens that I take up (intentionally or not) while examining my positionality inevitably implies *not* seeing something else; further, it is sometimes impossible to know which positions and knowledge have been ascribed to me (by participants or others) and how those are impacting my research process (Bigelow & Pettitt, 2015). Nonetheless, the following is an attempt at Pillow's recommendations above.

When I began preparing for this dissertation research, I thought my previous professional and personal experiences had given me some amount of cultural intuition surrounding adult English education in U.S. I had worked for over a decade in community-based adult English as an Additional Language (EAL) settings performing various roles, including volunteer, teacher, curriculum writer, administrator, assessment coordinator, and grant writer. This work frequently entailed collaborating with local college and university researchers, faculty, and service-learning staff; the most productive partnerships—the ones I was most inclined to continue year after year—were those in which university partners did not attempt to impose their projects upon our school(s), but rather made efforts to understand the immediate needs of our classrooms, teachers, and students from insider perspectives. Although I did not realize it, those partners were teaching me lessons about (not) sharing power and voice in community-university partnerships, which I would later attempt to draw on in my research, with uneven outcomes (Dillard & Pettitt, 2017).

During the same time period, I was also supporting my own immigrant family members and friends in navigating the language and literacy demands of life in the United States. As those experiences unfolded and deepened my cultural knowledge, they simultaneously shaped my subjectivity. For example, as I assisted immigrant family members, friends, and students through processes that required them/us to “negotiate many cultures” (Dance, Gutierrez, & Hermes,

2010, p. 332) such as immigration proceedings, advocating for oneself after a car accident, escaping an abusive spouse, finding culturally-appropriate mental health care, and more, I found myself alternating between comfort with the familiar practices surrounding such tasks and stepping back to reflect when asked the uncomfortable question, “Why do Americans do it that way?” As I spent more time living and working predominantly outside of the White, middle-class, English-dominant, protestant, U.S.-citizen-born communities in which I had grown up, the practices and perspectives of students, friends, and family members that I once found strange began to make more sense to me, little by little—especially as I was given more access to witnessing (but admittedly not “wholly understanding or identifying with,” [Visweswaran, 1994, p. 100]) the contexts in which they unfolded.

Yet, my thinking remained ambiguous. I was still convinced that learning English and taking up dominant practices were key for newcomers to accomplish their goals. I had only brief flashes of witnessing how broader power structures operate to obstruct and marginalize, regardless of linguistic ability or adopted cultural practices (Warriner, 2007). For instance, when a family member who had migrated to Minnesota from Mexico was pulled over by police because his vehicle registration tabs were supposedly expired even though I had placed updated tabs on the car three days prior, my positions of privilege (e.g., White, U.S. citizen) allowed me to view this as an isolated incident. Only after this same family member was repeatedly pulled over by police—eventually, more times in one year than I had been in my lifetime—did I begin to see this as systemic injustice.

Later, my graduate work helped me begin to make sense of these previous experiences, particularly the workings of power and privilege. I was especially challenged to think about my own positionality within these, including the ways I contribute to and benefit from injustice and

inequality. As I began to take up and craft my researcher identity/ies, I was also learning that my knowledge is partial, contingent, and informed by my locations (Alcoff, 1991). These ideas resonated with my prior experiences working on the community side of community-university partnerships. I began thinking about ways former university partners had worked to de-center their perspectives, experiences, and epistemological stances (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012) and I resolved to do the same, although I wasn't sure how. I assumed that I would need to listen and attempt to hear what de-centering looked like across myriad social contexts so that my research had a chance of coming closer to being congruent with local practices—just as my most-appreciated university partners had done. In terms of reciprocity, I assumed this meant asking the community-based research partners what kinds of reciprocity were most meaningful to them, and offering to provide those.

As I envisioned my dissertation research, I desired to bring the above perspectives, for example, attempting to share power by blurring the lines between researcher and participant, listening, questioning that which is taken for granted, and uncovering and de-centering my assumptions in ways that appear to be congruent with local contexts. In principle, these are the stances I continue to value, although I still encounter dilemmas and tensions as I attempt to enact them in my research, including that reported here.

Further, these stances do not come without ethical concerns. For example, efforts to share power with the classroom teacher in this research has entailed numerous conversations surrounding anonymity, including how, if she gives up her anonymity, she may implicate others who want to remain anonymous. Questioning the “taken-for-granted,” has meant problematizing classroom practices; however, if the teacher and administrator are uncomfortable with taking critical stances, how do I fulfill my pledge to share power with them? Additionally, providing

citations for media reports included in my write-up, for example, when locals, such as the mayor, appear presents some tensions: doing so could potentially give away the identity of the research site. (How do I balance my moral responsibility to the research site with my moral responsibility to show academic communities beyond a doubt that my report is not fabricated?)

These are just a few examples of ethical questions I have faced in this research. I attempt to navigate the ethical questions surrounding my research by attempting to develop what Kubanyiova (2008) describes as a balance between “the three ‘cornerstones’ of ethical practice (Haverkamp, 2005): macroethical principles, ethics of care, and virtue ethics” (p. 507). In this way, I do not set aside the macroethical research principles that cut across disciplines (and that I am bound to by my university’s Institutional Review Board), but rather recognize that the mean(s) for achieving these principles shift as I move between contexts (e.g., between the university and the community setting), which calls my attention to the contingent and situated nature of decision-making within a microethics of care (Kubanyiova, 2008). I went into the research recognizing that, in some cases, this could require a renegotiation of previously-negotiated procedures, such as consent to participate (Bigelow in Bigelow & Pettitt, 2015). As Kubanyiova writes, “Thus, ethical practice that recognizes the relational character of the research endeavour does not involve sticking labels and ticking boxes but is, instead, concerned with the particular decisions and how these affect the specific people being studied” (p. 507).

In summary, the above subject positions and ethical stances have led me to focus on understanding phenomena as socially, historically, and politically situated; as holistically as possible; and from emic perspectives. They have also led me to better understand (while maintaining that any understanding or knowing is partial [Alcoff, 1991]) the ways that individuals and organizations shape everyday life (including classroom life) through discourse

and vice versa. In these ways, linguistic ethnography was a good fit for the line of research comprised in this dissertation, and also aligned with my professional and personal commitments.

3.7 Limitations

The following limitations shaped the data I gathered and my interpretations of them.

3.7.1 Researcher health.

Dillon (personal communication, February 13, 2012) maintains that an important aspect of qualitative research is the researcher's health. I was sick during most of 2015, and missed one week of classroom data collection in January 2015. I attempted to compensate for my lowered energy (and perhaps attention) levels during spring semester 2015 by ensuring the audio recording device was on at all times and by shifting my data collection methods. First, I took additional photographs of items and activities I may otherwise have recorded in field notes. Second, I shifted data collection methods, pushing focal learner interviews to the following year.

Also, during the last three months of dissertation write-up (which entailed some data interpretation), I had carpal tunnel and tendinitis in both wrists and arms, which prevented me from utilizing a computer most days. I attempted to overcome this limitation by dictating to human typists and utilizing voice recognition technology (VRT). I quickly became frustrated with VRT and relied entirely on human typists. However, this was very time-consuming and, in at least three instances, the human typist could not keep up with my dictation. As I tried to assist her in catching up, I forgot the remainder of what I intended to say. Thus, I began audio recording myself while dictating to the typist. Ultimately, however, I know that I work out my interpretations best with my own fingers on the keyboard, not dictating orally.

3.7.2 Focal learner interviews.

Focal learner interviews centered on learners' classroom-based experiences and were

designed to be retrospective, as they took place approximately a year after classroom-based data collection was complete. In order to facilitate communication, interviews were interpreted. Learners' responses to questions related to studying with Joy were positive, but did not shed light on their experiences of positioning in the classroom, i.e., the theoretical focus of this study. For example, Halima repeatedly answered, "I love my teacher" and "yes yes that was so fun so good" (interview, June 14, 2016). Although I attempted asking questions differently, overall, learner interviews seemed to serve primarily to illuminate power distances between the learners and me. It is possible the learners maintained a cultural belief that teachers are to be revered, and thus refrained from criticizing Joy and me. Also, all three learners knew that I maintained contact with Joy; perhaps they did not want to say anything negative about her to me for that reason. I am not certain how best to navigate these power differences. However, I wonder if conducting interviews in language-specific focus groups would perhaps have helped some learners to feel more at ease and elicited more diversity in their responses.

3.7.3 Member checking.

I had difficulty reaching learners once the classroom-based data collection for this study was complete. Several learners changed their cell phone numbers in the time that lapsed from spring 2015 until member checking was to take place. Others did not pick up their phones; perhaps this was because I and the interpreters were calling from numbers they did not recognize. The two learners whom I was successful in reaching were both focal learners. However, during my meetings with these women, I felt my attempts at member checking were out of line with their desires and the demands on their attention. They both stated their preference was to meet with me in their homes, as they were caring for small children at home. At each meeting, I was greeted with hugs, smiles, tea, cookies, and "Thank you for coming to my

home.”

As I (accompanied by the interpreter) began to ask Abuk about her thoughts surrounding the transcripts and preliminary data interpretations, she took out her phone to share updated pictures of her older children who were at school at the time; her husband tuned their satellite TV to international channels and began to share news, music, and cartoons from South Sudan with me. A few minutes later, Abuk went into the kitchen and did not return for 30 minutes. When she came out, she began serving me and the rest of her family lunch. I did not realize I had come at lunch time; it was in the early afternoon (2 p.m.).

During my meeting with Halima, a similar pattern unfolded. She wanted to sit together and catch up, as we had not seen each other in a while. She showed me some pictures on her phone (she no longer shared a phone with her husband), and brought me up-to-date on information about learners we both knew. I began to steer our conversation toward member checking because we needed to use our time with the interpreter wisely; her services were expensive. As I began to ask Halima her thoughts on the data, one of her children sat on her lap, then got down, then got back up, etc. for the better part of thirty minutes. Halima ultimately said it wasn't a good time for a meeting; we switched back to tea, cookies, and conversation—and her son almost immediately stopped climbing on her. About 15 minutes later, she insisted on serving me lunch, as Abuk and her husband had done.

In short, at these meetings, it seemed as though Halima, Abuk, and Abuk's husband wanted to make personal connections with me, rather than focus on research tasks. All three repeated numerous times how happy they were that I came to visit their homes; their agendas for our meetings appeared to center on sharing with one another, not completing tasks. Ultimately, I felt that my attempts at member checking were a burden on the learners and did not serve their

desires and needs, but rather my own. I think that a process that folds data analysis and member checking *into* the same timeline in which data is collected may be more fruitful.

4 FINDINGS

This chapter describes language and literacy practices of Joy’s classroom—those which were institutionally-valued, as well as those taken up by learners—and the ways learners were positioned within those practices. This chapter contains two major sections, each of which corresponds to the two research questions.

4.1 Institutionally-valued Language and Literacy Practices and Social Positioning

This section addresses research question one: What are the institutionally-valued language and literacy practices of an adult English class embedded within a family literacy program for women who came to the U.S. as refugees? How do these practices position learners in the classroom?” In what follows, I define “institutionally-valued” as those practices taken up by Joy, as she was the main representative of REC present in the classroom on a daily basis. Logically, some of Joy’s choices were shaped by top-down requests and requirements from REC’s administration and public funders, so I attempt to situate findings within the contexts in which they unfolded.

4.1.1 Social positioning and daily language and literacy routines.

The following subsection examines patterns of valued language and literacy practice in Joy’s classroom as they unfolded during the routines of a typical day, and how these practices socially positioned the learners in Joy’s class. (A list of common classroom activities, several of which also appear in the analysis below, can be found in Appendix E.) The data show that the language and literacy practices in question were not only means for instruction in reading, writing, and technologies, but also served to teach learners specific storylines (Harré &

Moghaddam, 2003)—that is, socially-preferred norms and expectations surrounding literacy, being a student, and motherhood—both within and beyond the classroom.

To provide context for the analysis that follows, here I provide some background information. Most days in Joy’s class unfolded in four instructional phases: first, 9:00 to 9:30 a.m. for independent and paired work; second, 9:30 to 10:15 a.m. For instruction surrounding the Morning Message; third, 10:15 to 11:30 a.m. For regular class time; fourth, 11:30 to 12 noon for “mommy-baby time.” Every phase except the third (i.e., regular class time), consisted of similar literacy activities each day. The analysis that follows zeroes in on the first and second phases of class. The third phase of class is taken up in the next section, “Creating texts.” Data for this study were not collected during phase 4 of class, i.e., “mommy-baby time.”

4.1.1.1 *Independent and paired work.* This subsection describes the language and literacy practices Joy designed for learners during the 9:00-9:30 a.m. time frame: coming in and getting settled for the day, free reading, catching up on work, and using e-tablets. In each subsection that follows, I first provide a description of these practices based on observational field notes and photographs. Next, I interpret these practices, focusing on: 1. Joy’s use of mediational means (e.g., language, technology) and 2. the first-order-positionings (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) of learners accomplished through actions and speech (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003) as these practices unfolded.

4.1.1.1.1 *Coming in and getting settled.* Women began arriving at REC at 9:00 a.m., many walking to class pushing strollers and carrying babies in backslings. They brought their children to the classrooms in the early childhood wing and climbed the stairs to the adult classrooms. The following field note, drawn from the first day of data collection, describes the

routine language and literacy practices surrounding coming in and getting settled for the class, which varied little over the course of the year.

As the women in Joy's class entered the classroom, they greeted those already present, marked an X by their name on the day's date on an attendance spreadsheet hanging on the wall just inside the door, and chose a seat for the day. The women sat at brown folding tables, formed in the shape of a large "U," on metal brown folding chairs; both the tables and chairs were marked with the initials of (name of church sharing space with REC) on the back. For the next 30 minutes, this sequence repeated—learners trickled into the classroom, greeted classmates, marked themselves present, then took out their notebooks and writing utensils, and copied into their notebooks The Morning Message—three sentences that Joy had written on the blackboard and that read: "Good morning! Today is October 6, 2014. The weather is cool and sunny." After copying the Morning Message, learners read independently or in pairs, choosing amongst books Joy had brought to class. (field notes, October 6, 2014).

As shown above, the first expectation of learners as they came into class was to greet everyone present. Two class sessions after the data reported above, new learners were moved into Joy's class, and she explicitly re-taught her expectations surrounding greetings. Learners took turns leaving the classroom, re-entering and saying, "Good morning, everyone!" while those present responded, "Good morning, (name)!" (audio recording and field notes, October 10, 2014). Providing learners with specific language for carrying out greetings, coupled with practice in giving those greetings, was an important scaffold for beginning-level English learners in Joy's class. Further, Joy's intention was that learners greeting one another every day would create a sense of community for the class. Joy's expectations surrounding greetings—and

administration, who compiled the information to submit to their primary public funder; the REC was reimbursed by their primary public funders by the learner hour, as recorded on the attendance sheet described above. Attendance-taking by learners, then, positioned them within multi-layered systems of public funding (i.e., REC's primary public funding came through the technical college system, which received funds from the state, which received funds from the federal government) and, specifically, with the responsibility to ensure that their presence in class was recorded so that REC would receive the funds it was due.

The third expectation after learners entered the classroom was to copy The Morning Message into their notebooks. This provided learners daily practice in copying a formulaic text, as it always followed the following format, "Good morning! Today is (day), (month)(date), (year). The weather is (description)." As learners copied the Morning Message, feedback from Joy centered on capitalizing the days of the week and the months of the year, capitalizing the first word in sentences, wrapping text between lines, using punctuation, putting space between words, and forming letters. In other words, Joy utilized The Morning Message as a means to introduce learners into storylines (social norms) of writing centered on forms, rather than functions. In this way, copying The Morning Message positioned learners as new readers and writers (either in general or in English specifically), with the responsibility to attend to correctness in print conventions in their writing. (Content of the Morning Message is discussed below in the sections entitled, "Language and social practices surrounding weather" and "Literacy practices surrounding calendars.")

Finally, the expectations and literacy practices above were framed by the space in which they took place—Joy's classroom—and the available furniture within it. For instance, the use of folding tables and metal folding chairs inscribed with the name of the church emphasized not

only that the space was shared, but also gave a sense of impermanence to the classroom. One morning, Joy walked in to find 20 extra chairs in her classroom and no note or explanation (field notes, December 3, 2014); another morning, a pile of gifts for an upcoming baby shower to be held for a church member appeared, sitting against one wall in her classroom (photographs, April 15, 2015); and one morning, she found the bag of fabric she used for creating texts with learners (see “Creating texts” below) was stolen (interview, December 11, 2014). Despite the close and friendly relationship between REC and the church, the use of furniture belonging to another organization further underscored the size of REC’s small budget and need to rely on partnership with larger organizations and fiscal entities to carry out its work.

Nonetheless, Joy used the available furniture in interesting ways; her choices can be understood as “socially significant actions” (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003, p. 44) in that her arrangements created specific interactional possibilities in the classroom. For instance, placing the tables in a U-shape allowed her to move physically closer to each learner and each learner’s work than would have been possible via another arrangement (e.g., tables in rows). This permitted her to easily provide one-on-one assistance and feedback to learners, while maintaining an eye on the majority of the rest of the class. Further, the U-shape permitted learners to easily see and hear one another (i.e., no student was looking at the back of another’s head). This classroom configuration centered Joy, and for learners there are at least two ways to interpret their positioning. In one interpretation, learners would be positioned as important classroom participants, with each having the right (and roughly equal possibility) to see and hear one another and the teacher. That is, their access to the teacher and classmates, and thus classroom interaction and likely, much content and feedback, was not impeded but rather facilitated. A second interpretation foregrounds the ways the U-shape configuration allowed Joy

to keep an eye on learners. In this interpretation, learners would be positioned as objects of close observation. Based on my observations, I believe that both were true at various times, and that Joy's close observation of learners was not an attempt to surveil or control, but rather led to flexible and immediate provision of assistance.

4.1.1.1.2 *Free reading.* After coming in and getting settled, learners engaged in one of three activities; the most common was free reading. For this, Joy had a collection of different texts from which learners chose, to which she continually added and made changes throughout the year. Joy drew on books she checked out at the public library, found in REC's storage, borrowed from REC's early childhood program, bought at garage sales, found in storage at her parents' home when she went to visit, and texts that the class had created together, as described below (see section entitled "LEA texts"). Joy attempted to offer a variety of genres and reading levels. For example, the selection of books available included phonics readers such as multiple sets of the "Bob Books" (<http://www.bobbooks.com>) and *Victory Drills* (Enderlin, 1978), which she found at a garage sale. Joy also offered children's books from REC's early childhood programming, as a means to incorporate themes from REC's early childhood curriculum. Free reading was also used to prepare learners for activities later in the day or week, such as field trips to museums and historical sites or visits from community members (e.g., the visit from firefighters described below; see "LEA texts"). When course content centered on U.S. history and civil rights during spring semester, Joy checked out children's and middle-grades books on Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, and Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese human rights leader and activist. These books were for learners to explore on their own or in pairs. For books that were above learners' reading levels, Joy encouraged learners to page through, sometimes with a classmate, making sense of the texts through reading titles and headings, interpreting images,

locating words they already knew, looking up the translations of words and phrases on their cell phones, and asking Joy and me for support.

Again, my focus here is on the choices Joy made to construct free reading time, as well as how her choices (and, importantly, the broader social conditions in which those choices took place) socially positioned learners. First, the description above demonstrates Joy's resourcefulness: gathering books she felt would be effective for emergent L2 adult readers from a variety of low-cost sources (e.g., garage sales, family members, public library). Nonetheless, Joy's need to piece together an ad-hoc (mostly-free) classroom library demonstrates her lack of access to newer and higher-quality reading materials for adults, which further underscored the size of REC's small budget, a by-product of the paucity of public and private funding available for adult English language instruction at both the national level and in the state in which this study took place. This dynamic positions both teachers and English learners in a double-bind: Low funding levels position teachers and learners as a low social priority, without the right to have high-quality materials in their classrooms (or, in some cases, as we saw above, their own chairs, tables, and school buildings). Yet, this does not absolve learners from the duty to learn English and develop socially-preferred literacy practices (e.g., as described below in "Literacy practices surrounding calendars") as quickly as possible, possible in order to be accepted as legitimate members of their new communities.

Second, Joy's book choices illustrate several values surrounding reading, including providing learners with a wide variety of alternatives to explore their interests through print. Her choice to offer many different types of reading materials (rather than limit options to the books she knew learners could decode) positioned learners as agentic, inquisitive readers, with the right to evaluate and choose among several options for reading. This is particularly interesting since

most learners in her class were learning how to make sense of print for the first time in their lives. Additionally, Joy's choices reveal that balanced approaches to literacy instruction were valued in this classroom. For instance, as described above, Joy did not shy away from bringing in books that were above learners' reading levels at the time of data collection, but rather encouraged learners to explore and make sense of texts through, for example, pictures, titles, and words they recognized. Instead of assuming that books at high reading levels would overwhelm these adult L2 emergent readers, Joy used this time for explicit modeling of top-down approaches to reading, in addition to presenting these books as an accessible means for learners to explore interests and engage with course content (e.g., civil rights, Martin Luther King, Jr.), either independently or in pairs. Again, this positioned learners as competent new readers, with the right to explore and make sense of texts at many reading levels.

Similarly, the description above not only shows that top-down approaches to reading were valued in Joy's classroom, but bottom-up approaches as well. Not shown above is the one-on-one support provided by Joy when learners chose texts focusing on bottom-up reading approaches. Specifically, she encouraged learners to make explicit connections between graphemes and phonemes, to blend individual sounds into words, and to develop awareness of onset-rhyme patterns (field notes, audio recording, photographs, October 15, October 20, and October 27, 2014) although this occurred daily, with the exception of field trip dates). In these data, she accomplished this through the use of phonics-based texts, some designed for adults, others for children. Generally, independent reading of books using bottom-up approaches was carried out by learners in pairs, as shown below. (Learners faces are blurred to preserve anonymity.)



Figure 4. Learners decoding word lists from Victory Drills (Enderlin, 1970).

Paired reading served to introduce the interactional pattern of books as items to be shared and read aloud within the “social arena” (Pinnow & Chval, p. 2) of Joy’s classroom (i.e., literacy as shared activity, also seen below in section “LEA stories”) and, as seen below, with children in homes. In other words, this practice positioned learners as collaborative supporters of one another’s reading aloud, while also preparing learners to take up the interactional pattern of reading to their children, thus participating in the storyline of “mothers-as-literacy-workers” (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Luttrell, 1996; Smythe and Isserlis, 2002; Smythe, 2006).

Finally, Joy’s offering of children’s books added another layer of complexity to free reading: Although the use of children’s materials in adult education is contested, her choice was in line with administrative expectations that adult instruction include content and materials from the school’s concurrent early childhood programming, as REC was a family literacy program that prioritized mothers supporting their children’s learning, as described in the Methods section of this paper. Offering children’s books blurred the lines between literacy materials that are traditionally taken up in classrooms for adults vs. for children. One interpretation is that this

blurring positioned learners in Joy's classroom as children. A second interpretation is that Joy was modeling for the mothers in her classroom which books they might choose to share with their children, and/or giving them time during class to become more familiar with those books before taking them home. The latter interpretation positioned learners as mothers (as described in the previous paragraph) and, more specifically, mothers-as-literacy-workers-in-training—with the responsibility to take up specific, socially-preferred home literacy practices, such as sharing books with children. A third interpretation is that Joy's offering of children's books positioned learners in a third space: between, or potentially outside of, an adult/child binary.

Based on my review of the data and observations, I believe the first and second interpretations to be the most accurate. One of Joy's main messages to the learners in her classroom surrounding interactions with their children was to read to children as much as possible at home (field notes and audio recordings, October 20, 2014, February 6, 2015). Further, a primary goal of the REC was to influence the literacy practices refugee mothers took up with their children in order to better prepare those children for formal schooling in the U.S. (administrator interview, November 19, 2014; REC website screenshot December 3, 2014).

4.1.1.1.3 *Catching up on classwork.* Amongst the activities taking place during the 9:00-9:30 timeframe was catching up on class work. It was not uncommon for out-of-school demands and constraints to shape, and sometimes impede, learners' access to English classes. For instance, Chriki requested permission to leave class early when her husband wanted her to cook for him before he went to work (field notes, April 3, 2015). When their children were sick, it was common for learners to stay home to care for them (field notes, October 15, 2014). Similarly, learners' own health concerns sometimes constrained their ability to attend class; for example, Daw Ngai Pai missed class due to morning sickness (audio recording, February 11,

2015), and occasionally learners reported they needed to miss class due to a conflicting medical appointment. Also, Sahra stopped attending class when her husband was laid off from his job because their family could no longer afford the \$15.00 per week in bus fare for her transportation to and from REC; she returned after he found work again. At least one learner in Joy's classroom began working outside the home and her shift conflicted with class (Adwa); she returned to the REC only one more time the remainder of the school year.

When learners were able to return to class, there was frequently classwork to catch up on—most often copying stories the class had written together during previous sessions. As described in detail below (see section “Creating texts”), a main literacy practice of Joy's classroom was the creation of texts, such as writing invitations for other classes to join Joy's class in holiday parties (e.g., Thanksgiving), making Valentine's Day cards, and co-authoring stories to paste into handmade books (see section “Handmade bookmaking”). The latter involved twice copying a story that Joy and learners had co-authored together: one rough draft and one final copy, which was illustrated and pasted into their handmade books (see section “LEA stories” for a detailed description of this process). As many of the learners were new readers and writers in any language (and others were learning to write alphabetic script and/or to orient writing from left to right for the first time), making these copies was sometimes a lengthy process, involving multiple rounds of self-edits and/or feedback from Joy and me. When learners were unable to attend class, then, extra time was needed upon their return to create both a draft and final copy of the story; Joy utilized the 9:00-9:30 timeframe for this.

The data and descriptions above demonstrate some ways that continuity in learners' education intersected with questions of social class, health, and gendered expectations surrounding working outside the home and caregiving. For instance, at least four participants

commented that, in their home countries, it was husbands' responsibility to work outside the home, and wives' responsibility to care for children and other family members, cook for the family, and carry out other traditionally-gendered domestic tasks (Halima, Aisa, Eh Say, Abuk; field notes, February 20, 2015). Although most of the learners' husbands were working during the majority of data collection for this study, some worked two or three jobs on difficult shifts (e.g., overnights) in order to make ends meet (field notes, February 20, 2015). This was at least in part due to the scarcity of jobs paying a living wage for recent arrivals in the U.S., particularly for individuals at beginning levels of English. Thus, it is perhaps unsurprising that three of the women in Joy's class reported the desire to subvert traditional gender roles surrounding work in order to help support their families financially (Sahra, Aisa, Halima) and, in the case of Adwa, to stop attending once she obtained a job. So, although the women in Joy's class had the right to attend the REC (i.e., they were refugees with children from infancy through age five), their ability to attend was constrained by the immediacy of financial needs related to social class.

Additionally, the fact that some learners were unable to attend class when family demands arose (e.g., caring for sick children; Chriki's husband requesting she leave class early to cook) highlights that they continued to balance gendered expectations surrounding caregiving, despite that some desired to work outside the home as described above. In the case of Chriki, her husband's request put in direct conflict two things: Chriki's education and his desire for her to cook for him at a specific time on a specific date. In other words, here we see the women in Joy's classroom occasionally putting aside their own educations—either temporarily or longer-term—in order to care for others, as was seen in the literature review for this study.

Joy's use of the 9:00-9:30 timeframe to catch up on work demonstrated her sensitivity to and awareness of the multiple, sometimes-competing demands that pressed in on learners' lives.

This also shows how Joy prioritized maintaining continuity in learners' educations, thereby building in time during class to catch up on work that was missed which provided a bridge for learners between their previous date of attendance and their return to class. This may be particularly salient for learners whose access to formal schooling was interrupted previously in their lives, sometimes multiple times. Providing these bridges, when necessary, positioned learners as important members of the classroom community, that is, as students whose continuity of education was important, even when the (imposed) duties associated with other subject positions (e.g., that of wife, mother, worker) created tensions with their subject position of learner. In other words, in Joy's class, the subject position of learner came with the right to attend to duties outside of class while avoiding, as much as possible, gaps in education.

4.1.1.1.4 *Working on e-tablets.* Another activity that took place before Joy began structured instruction at 9:30 was working on e-tablets. The REC had been gifted one class set of e-tablets (i.e., the Asus Google Nexus 7 Tablet) that connected to the school's Wi-Fi. Joy first introduced learners to e-tablets by asking them to type the Morning Message on the tablets instead of, or after, recording it in their notebooks (field notes, October 15, 2014). As learners became comfortable with this, she began to encourage them to explore the e-tablets and Internet on their own, or directed them to specific apps. For example, as Joy taught content related to U.S. history and civil rights, topics that appear on the U.S. citizenship exam, she and I also taught the learners to download and navigate an app with the 100 Questions. (The 100 Questions is a list of questions, some of which appear on the citizenship exam; exam-takers do not know which of the 100 questions they will be asked, so they prepare to answer all. For more information, see: <https://www.uscis.gov/citizenship/learners/study-test>, [field notes, April 7, 2015]). Similarly, as the class prepared to go on a field trip to visit a historical site in honor of

Martin Luther King, Jr., Joy encouraged learners to use the tablets to navigate and explore the website for that historical site (field notes, February 27, 2015).

In the descriptions above, Joy first introduced e-tablets to learners by asking them to copy (i.e., type in) the Morning Message—a literacy practice with which they were already familiar, but in a different modality. In this way, Joy built on learners’ existing strengths to expand their literacy repertoires to include digital literacies. This demonstrates some of the ways Joy provided multiple kinds of support for learners, in this case, as they engaged with technologies that were new to most; some learners were familiar with some of the technologies available on the e-tablets, as these were similar to those available on learners’ smart phones (see section “Accessing online texts” below).

In the above, Joy also utilized e-tablets as a mediational tool in several ways: to build learners’ background knowledge, to encourage learners to prepare for the U.S. citizenship exam, and to encourage learners to explore their own interests via the Internet. Prioritizing preparations for the U.S. Citizenship exam demonstrated the curricular value of supporting those learners who desired to become U.S. Citizens, despite that at least one learner was not interested in doing so at the time of data collection (Enns-Kananen & Pettitt, 2017). Nevertheless, incorporating citizenship exam instruction via the e-tablets was in line with requirements for programs such as the REC, whose public funders required civics and citizenship instruction integration in adult English language programming. These requirements position learners within overly simplistic immigration storylines that tether newcomers’ desires to be “included” and “belong” (Allman, 2013) to language learning and citizenship attainment.

Encouraging learners to explore their own interests online via e-tablets mirrored the ways that Joy prompted learners to do the same via books that she brought to class (see section “Free

reading”). This again centered learners’ own curiosities and interests, but in a more expansive way than was available during free reading. That is, learners were not limited to books chosen by Joy as they navigated the Internet on e-tablets. As above, Joy did not assume that learners would be overwhelmed by navigating the Internet, or by potentially complex website interfaces, nor by the challenging language that appears on websites; rather, she encouraged learners to use top-down approaches to make sense of the texts they encountered online. This again positioned learners as agentic users of technology, with the right to evaluate and interpret online texts of interest to them. (A more detailed exploration of the ways learners used e-tablets when not prompted by Joy to access specific apps or websites appears below; see section “Social positioning and mobile technology use.”)

4.1.1.2 *The Morning Message.* This subsection describes the language and literacy practices of Joy’s classroom during the 9:30 to 10:15 a.m. time frame, that is, the second phase of class: a whole-class focus on the Morning Message, which included choral reading of The Morning Message and discourse and social practices surrounding the weather and use of calendars, that is, the content of the Morning Message. Specifically, at 9:30 a.m. Joy drew the learners’ attention to the front of class and led them in choral reading of the Morning Message, signaling each word with a long pointer stick. After the first choral reading of the Morning Message, Joy segued into content and language surrounding the weather and calendars, frequently weaving in pronunciation instruction.

Below, in the subsection focusing on calendar content and literacy practices, I begin by providing a description based on observational field notes and photographs. As in the previous subsection, I next interpret these practices, focusing on 1. Joy’s use of mediational means (e.g., language, calendar) and 2. the first-order positionings (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) of

learners accomplished through actions and speech (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003) as these practices unfolded. In the subsection focusing on weather content and social practices, I follow the same process, presenting a data transcript on which to base my interpretations.

4.1.1.2.1 Literacy practices surrounding calendars. Joy wove instruction surrounding calendars throughout her instructional focus on the Morning Message. A small dry-erase board with a 30-day calendar permanently inscribed on it sat on a windowsill at the side of the classroom (see below).



Figure 5. Dry-erase monthly class calendar.

At the beginning of every month, Joy updated the placement of the dates on the calendar. She gave this calendar to a different learner after choral reading of The Morning Message each day, asking the student to find and circle the present day and to cross off days that had passed. At the beginning of each month, Joy also provided each learner with her own monthly calendar photocopied onto an 8.5" x 11" sheet and asked learners to record special days or holidays (e.g., Halloween, Thanksgiving), special events (e.g., field trip days, class birthdays, children's

birthdays), and days class would not be session (e.g., Presidents' Day, spring break). At least once per week, Joy asked the learners to get out their photo-copied calendars, find the current day, cross off days that had passed, and notice how close or far away the holidays and other special events were from the current date. At the beginning of the year, she engaged the class in coloring their calendars to denote the days that class met or did not (see below), as this was to support learners whom she noticed had struggled to locate the days of the week on their calendars and/or to locate the current date or another date she provided them (e.g., "Show me October 12th"; field notes and photographs, November 3, 2014).



Figure 6. Coloring calendars to denote days school was in or out of session.

In these activities, Joy introduced learners to storylines of time as an abstract entity that humans “manage,” and engaged learners in “patterns of interaction” (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2) surrounding this management. For instance, using class time to locate the dates of and record holidays, birthdays, and days off school, etc., communicated to learners not only what kinds of events were important in this storyline, but also common ways of keeping track of those events; that is, Joy was teaching the social norm of creating abstract, textual representations of events before experiencing those events.

Additionally, finding the current dates and crossing off days that had passed not only required learners to recognize numbers and days of the week, but to do so within an abstract representation of one month, i.e., a written calendar. Locating the current date also entailed identifying “where we are” on the calendar, which was one way to engage learners in the act of abstractly locating themselves in time—similar to locating themselves in time on the attendance spreadsheet discussed above (see section “Coming in”). Further, crossing off days that had passed communicated that those days were no longer an important focus, thus indexing a forward-looking orientation to time and events in this storyline. In this way, Joy prioritized a time and space orientation focused on both the here-and-now and the future; this was different from the time and space orientation of some learners who more frequently oriented toward the past and far-away places, as seen further below.

Engaging in the actions in question (e.g., tracking events in writing) with the specific tools in question (e.g., a written calendar) positioned learners—even if only ephemerally—as legitimate participants in U.S. cultural groups that embrace storylines of time as abstract and managed, and whose orientation to time and space is focused on the here-and-now. Outside of the classroom, this positioning would come with the duty to adopt the actions and tools in question in order to establish and maintain legitimacy. In Joy’s classroom, the same duties applied, but legitimacy as a member of the broader culture was not on the line; meeting Joy’s expectations was.

4.1.1.2.2 *Language and social practices surrounding weather.* Along with literacy practices and discourse surrounding calendars, Joy frequently discussed the weather during the Morning Message. These discussions included questions surrounding learners’ weather

preferences, what they thought they might do in certain kinds of weather (e.g., if it was nice out), and dressing for certain kinds of weather.

One example of the latter came on November 3, 2014, just after Joy and the learners had finished chorally reading the Morning Message, which stated, “Good morning. Today is Monday, November 3, 2014. The weather is chilly and sunny.”

1	Joy and learners: (reading in unison) today (.) is (.) <u>Monday</u> (.) November third (.) two thousand fourteen. the weather is
2	Joy: [chilly chilly
3	Unidentified learner: [/tʃaɪ/
4	Many learners at once: chilly
5	Joy: chilly chilly
6	Unidentified learner: chilly
7	Joy and learners: (reading in unison) and sunny
8	Yaw Shen: chilly is very cold
9	Joy: yes you have your coats goo:d. (going around to various learners, pointing at coats hanging from backs of chairs) goo:d you have your coat. goo:d goo:d. the weather is chilly you need a coa:t. you need a coa:t. don't be co:ld.
10	and do you have shoes? (looking around at women's feet) mhm mhm.
11	I don't see any toes. oh no I see toes Aisa::: your toe:s will be so co:ld (learners laughing)
12	and your babies. you must have something on their <u>toes</u> their toes will be so co:ld

(audio recording, November 3, 2014)

In line 1, Joy and learners read the Morning Message chorally together. In lines 2 and 3, Joy and an unidentified learner said the word “chilly” together; however, the learner produced this word as “chai.” In line 4, several learners repeated Joy’s pronunciation of the word “chilly,” and Joy repeated it again in line 5. An unidentified learner repeated “chilly” again in line 6, and Joy and learners continued choral reading in line 7. (Since Joy used a pointing stick to cue

learners during choral reading, it was possible for her to pause and focus on the pronunciation of a single word as in lines 2 through 6.) In line 8, Yaw Shen provided a definition, stating that “chilly” means “very cold,” perhaps assuming that her classmates’ mispronunciation of “chilly” indicated they were unfamiliar with the meaning of this word as well. In line 9, Joy began looking to see which learners had worn coats that day, encouraging them to avoid the cold by wearing coats. In the next line, Joy asked and looked to see who was wearing shoes (line 10). Next, she first commented that she did not see anyone’s toes, then noticed that Aisa’s toes were showing, presumably because she was wearing open-toed shoes (line 11). Finally, Joy commented that the learners should make sure their children wear shoes during cold weather (line 12).

This excerpt demonstrates one of the ways that Joy used the pointer stick that she found earlier in the year during a class field trip (field notes, October 6, 2014). It became a mediating tool utilized not only for guiding choral reading of the Morning Message, as seen in line 1 above, but also for supporting learners during other choral readings (e.g., see “LEA stories” below) and orienting learners when utilizing visuals located far from learners’ seats in the classroom. In these data, Joy also used the pointer stick to take pauses in choral reading (lines 2 through 6) and efficiently resume reading as seen in line 7. Joy’s use of the pointer was socially meaningful, as learners consistently responded to her direction in the ways she intended, i.e., reading chorally, pausing, continuing. Joy’s intention was that her use of the pointer would help learners know where to focus their attention, as she hoped this would help them follow the flow of classroom activities and increase their confidence (interview, December 11, 2014). She felt this was particularly important for learners who were having their first experiences in formal classrooms (interview, December 11, 2014). Joy’s use of the pointer stick positioned the women in Joy’s

class as students who were new to formal, classroom-based kinds of learning and in need of a specific type of assistance: pointing.

The data above also show one way that Joy used language as a mediating means to support learners. In lines 2 and 3, when Joy and an unidentified learner's speech overlapped, with the learner producing "chilly" as "chai," Joy paused choral reading of the Morning Message to repeat the lexical item "chilly" three different times (i.e., once in line 2 and twice in line 5). After different learners correctly produced "chilly" twice (in lines 4 and 6), Joy continued choral reading of the Morning Message in line 7. This sequence of turns demonstrates Joy's flexibility as a teacher—identifying a point of possible confusion for learners, pausing to provide immediate instruction, evaluating learners' uptake, and continuing with the original activity. It is unclear whether Joy believed the learner's production of "chai" was an error in pronunciation or decoding. Regardless, Joy's response illustrates how she attempted to support learners, in this case, either in decoding accurately or in producing oral language that is more likely to be understood by more advanced users of English. If the former (i.e., accurate decoding), this would position learners as new readers within storylines of reading that value accuracy in decoding. If the latter (i.e., oral language), this would position learners within storylines of interpersonal communication that place the duty for ensuring an interlocutor's comprehension on the new speaker of the language, rather than distributing this responsibility between interlocutors.

These data also elucidate some of the ways Joy used language and gesture as a mediational means to socialize learners into norms of dress in colder weather, that is, when temperatures dropped below 50 degrees Fahrenheit and/or during rainy or icy conditions. Perhaps because most of the learners came from countries with warmer climates, they frequently

came to school wearing lightweight clothing and flip flops, even when temperatures dropped (field notes, November 3, 2014). In this excerpt, Joy noted who had worn coats to school that day by commenting (e.g., “yes you have your coats good”) and pointing at the coats as they hung from the backs of learners’ chairs (line 9). She also told learners who had not worn coats that they should, so they would not get cold (line 9), and looked to see if learners were wearing closed-toed shoes (lines 10 and 11). Joy’s feedback to learners on their dress demonstrated a desire for learners to be physically safe (e.g., shoes in cold weather prevent frostbite). It also served as a type of inspection—a first-order positioning of learners as individuals who were unaware how to dress appropriately for specific kinds of weather, and with the responsibility to make changes in dress based on weather, not comfort (e.g., some learners may have found that open-toed shoes in cold were more comfortable than closed-toed shoes keeping them warm). Learners’ laughter in response indicated that Joy’s feedback was socially meaningful to them, and perhaps that learners knew they were violating common patterns of conduct in the U.S. through their dress choices. Their laughter, then, could be interpreted as a type of second-order positioning, in which learners were aware of common social practices and chose differently.

This excerpt also shows how lessons in mothering in the United States could be woven throughout classroom discourse. Specifically, in these data, Joy used language as a mediating means to introduce a storyline in which the common pattern is to dress children in particular ways in cold weather: children’s toes (i.e., their feet) should be covered so they do not become cold (line 12). This positioned learners as mothers within this classroom space—specifically, as mothers with the responsibility to learn new, social norms surrounding dressing their children., in light of living in a new climate.

4.1.1.3 *Making sense of social positioning and daily literacy routines.* In the data provided above, Joy engaged learners in specific language and literacy practices within specific routines in order to teach them particular ways of doing literacy, doing “being a student,” and doing motherhood. I take up each of these in turn below.

4.1.1.3.1 *Doing literacy.* Ways of doing literacy in Joy’s classroom in these data included free reading, exploring texts online with e-tablets, reading chorally and in pairs, and copying texts from the board. Additionally, an important part of “doing literacy” was exploring texts of individual interest, either in print or online, that drew on both top-down and bottom-up approaches to reading. Utilizing top-down approaches was particularly important in the case of texts that were above students’ reading levels at the time of data collection. This exploration of texts positioned learners as agentic, inquisitive readers with the right to evaluate which texts were of greatest interest and value at the moment. This further positioned learners as competent readers, with the ability to interpret texts of many different levels, whether their interpretations entailed decoding words, images, or other information presented multimodally, as might be found when conducting an e-tablet search. As described above, doing literacy also involved copying texts from the board into notebooks or onto e-tablets and getting feedback from Joy or me. This positioned learners as new readers and writers, with the responsibility of attending to correctness in print conventions in their writing.

4.1.1.3.2 *Doing “being a student.”* In these data, being a student entailed greeting the class upon entrance, taking one’s own attendance, tracking dates and events using a written calendar, and catching up on work after an absence. These further served as a means to teach learners what is expected of “good students” and, perhaps by extension, good community members and good workers outside of class. For instance, greeting the class upon entrance (e.g.,

“Good morning, everyone”), and responding with the person’s name (e.g., “Good morning, so-and-so”) is in line with common interactional patterns in group settings in the United States, particularly in workplace interactions. Additionally, tracking dates and events with a calendar ensures (or intends to ensure) that a learner knows when to come to class and when not to come to class, which mirrors common socially-valued ways of tracking appointments, special events, and work schedules in the U.S. (e.g., personal planners, Blackberries, GoogleCalendar, etc.). Similarly, catching up on work after an absence is not only expected in K-16 settings, but also in many workplaces. Finally, taking one’s own attendance is one way to share an administrative burden, in this case class record-keeping, which was appreciated by the teacher, i.e., the main classroom authority. Overall, then, in engaging learners in carrying out common activities of “good students,” Joy simultaneously engaged them in socially-valued practices and interactional patterns of “good community members” in various “social arenas” (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2) outside the classroom. In this way, the practices served to communicate to learners not only what was expected of them in class, but also expectations they may encounter outside of class, as well, e.g., from employers, children’s schools, health care workers, etc. This positioned learners within storylines in which newcomers are responsible for adopting specific ways of interacting, tracking time, sharing administrative burdens, and staying up to speed on one’s work—that is, of being good members of their classroom community and of communities beyond the walls of the REC.

4.1.1.3.3 *Doing motherhood.* In these data, doing motherhood involved adopting specific home literacy practices and dressing oneself and one’s children differently in different seasons. These did not occur *during* Joy’s class, of course; rather, classroom discourse and practices pointed to the socially-preferred ways for mothers to attend to home literacy and to dress their

children in cold weather. For instance, Joy's inspection of learners' feet on a cold day, and her imploring the learners to cover their children's feet, communicated that, in the local moral order (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999), mothers have the duty to wear shoes or boots that cover their feet entirely and ensure their children do the same during cold weather. Upon first examining these data, it appeared that Joy's intention was for learners and their children to be more comfortable and safe in cold weather; in fact, this was the case. However, Joy also hoped to spare learners and their families from intervention from Child Protective Services, which was a possibility if someone felt learners inadequately cared for their children, e.g., K-12 school social workers, healthcare professionals (interview, December 12, 2014).

Additionally, exploring children's books during adult English classes, and learning content from the early childhood programming (e.g., shapes, colors) in order to share books and reinforce learning with children at home, foregrounded children's learning in these women's education—thus tethering children's educational attainment to their mothers' as seen in the literature review for this study (e.g., Menard-Warwick's [2009] participant Camila). These were simultaneously attempts to influence learners' home literacy practices, e.g., explicitly communicating that mothers should read to their children regularly and that mothers are responsible for reinforcing classroom learning in the home. This finding is unsurprising, given the family literacy model upon which the REC loosely based their work (see "Method" section). As discussed above, this positioned women within storylines of mother-as-literacy-worker and, in this case specifically, mothers in need of training as literacy workers—a theme that returns in the next section.

Overall, then, daily literacy routines were not simply a means for teaching reading, writing, or other technologies, but also for teaching specific patterns of interaction (Pinnow &

Chval, 2015, p. 2) that constitute social norms and expectations for learners both inside and outside of class. These norms and expectations centered on literacy practices, being a mother, being a student, and, perhaps more subtly, being a community member in Cadeville in general. Again, this positioned learners within storylines in which newcomers have the duty to adopt these new norms in order to be considered legitimate community members and cultural insiders.

4.1.2 Social positioning and creating texts.

After activities surrounding the Morning Message (described above), Joy and learners moved into the third phase of the class. One of the main literacy practices during this phase was the creation of texts, including the core class text. The creation of texts and/or the use of class-created texts for other purposes (e.g., paired reading) occurred daily, thus shaping instruction in important ways. Although the REC's primary public funder provided the adult ESOL textbook series *Side-by-Side* (Molinsky & Bliss, 2001) with the expectation teachers would use these as their core classroom text, Joy and most of her teaching colleagues declined in favor of gathering or making their own materials. Joy's freedom to choose her own core class text was also facilitated by the fact that REC was a young program, still gaining its curricular bearings; in line with the same public funder's requirements, administrators and teachers created checklists of topics to address in the adult classes (e.g., grocery shopping, emergencies), but had not yet adopted standards, level descriptors, or standardized assessments for adult programming. While most of her colleagues created class materials for classroom use themselves, Joy engaged learners in crafting their own core classroom text—a choice that touched nearly every aspect of Joy's classroom.

As described below, the core texts in this classroom were books Joy taught the students to make by hand with recycled materials at the beginning of each semester. These books were

populated primarily with stories co-created by Joy and learners using the Language Experience Approach (LEA, Landis, Umolu, & Mancha, 2010) as described below. Additionally, throughout the year, Joy engaged learners in making other texts—primarily typical cultural artifacts surrounding common U.S. holidays or celebrations, such as construction paper jack-o-lanterns at Halloween, writing invitations to class parties (e.g., Thanksgiving, end-of-school-year), decorating cookies at Christmas, and making collages for Valentine’s Day cards in mid-February. The next section zeroes in on the processes of bookmaking and the creation of LEA stories in Joy’s class.

4.1.2.1 Handmade bookmaking. Although the creation of handmade blank books occurred only twice during the school year (i.e., at the beginning of fall and spring semesters) the ongoing creation of texts to appear within those books, and the use of the books as the core classroom text, warrants examining the genesis of their production. In this section, I describe the process of handmade bookmaking as it unfolded at the beginning of spring semester, drawing on field notes and photographs.

On the third day of spring semester (January 14, 2015), Joy arrived at the REC with a bag of fabric scraps and old sheets she found at her parents’ house over the December holidays, as well as armfuls of used brown cardboard boxes she had cut and laid flat. Before learners arrived, she and I used box cutters to cut the cardboard into approximately 12”x14” rectangles, then folded the rectangles in half the long way and then fully back and forth repeatedly to make them easier to fold; those folds would become part of each book’s binding.

As learners began arriving to class, Joy called them to the back of the room, where she and I had set up a small craft station with the cardboard rectangles, fabric, scissors, a hot glue gun, yarn, and multi-colored construction paper. Joy asked the women who were new to class to

pick out their favorite fabrics from the bag of scraps. Joy modeled how to measure and cut fabric to size to serve as an outside book cover, and then how to use the hot glue gun to affix the fabric to the cardboard as seen below.



Figure 7. Measuring fabric to craft outside book covers.



Figure 8. Affixing fabric cover to cardboard with hot glue gun.

Joy directed the women who had been in class the previous semester, and had already made their own books, to pair up with new learners and help them identify, measure, and cut

fabrics that were an appropriate size and weight to serve as either outside or inside book covers (see below).



Figure 9. Learners independently cutting fabric to size for book covers.

Next, Joy modeled how to measure, cut, and glue fabric to serve as the inside book cover. Joy insisted on a different fabric pattern for the inside and outside covers: twice she explained to learners that they needed to re-choose their inside cover so that it was not the same as the outside cover (field notes, January 14, 2015). She also pointed out that having an inside cover made the book “more beautiful” (field notes, January 14, 2015), because it covered up the remaining brown cardboard, as well as the folds and edges of the outside cover that had been folded to the inside. The image below shows Joy peeling back the tan and brown patterned inside cover of a book to both check on the glue and also to show a learner how it covered the rough edges of the outside cover.



Figure 10. Joy examining an inside book cover.

At just after 9:30 a.m. on that day (January 14, 2015), when class was usually getting started, Joy enlisted the assistance of Hung Shen, who was a yearlong student and thus had a handmade book since the beginning of fall semester, to help the new students complete the remaining steps of assembling their books. Joy reminded Hung Shen how to tie on colored yarn for book binding (see above), how to fold the construction paper and place it under the colored yarn to create the blank book pages (see below), and how to make a title for the front cover.

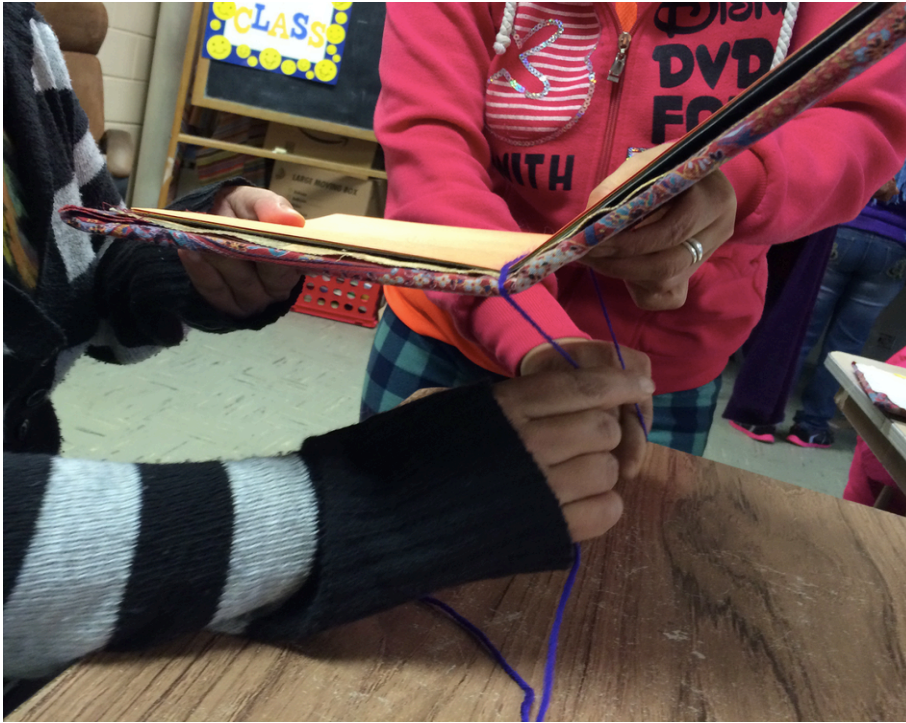


Figure 11. Tying on colored yarn for book binding.

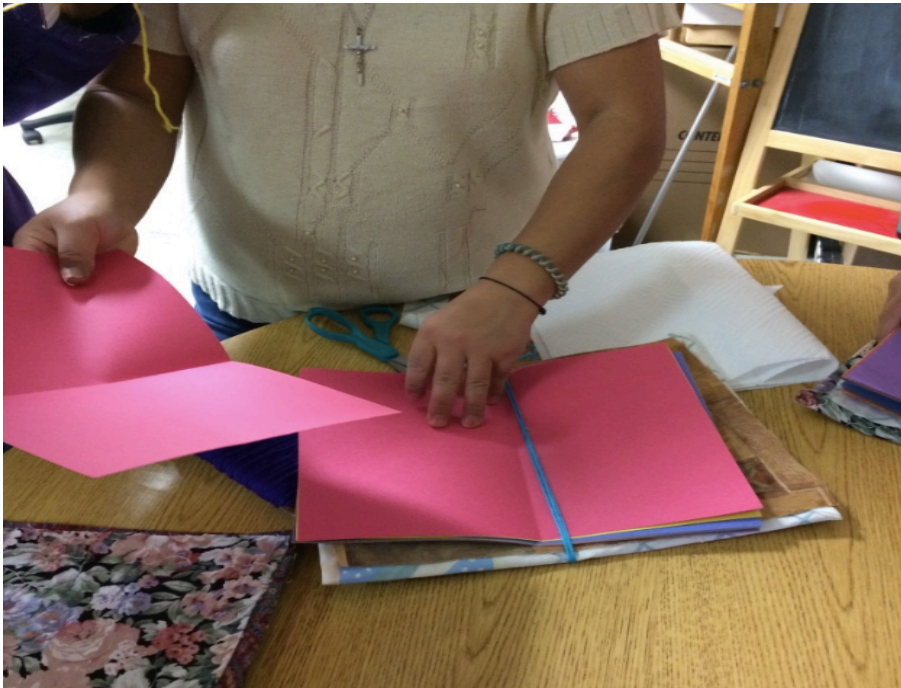


Figure 12. Hung Shen creates blank book pages.

Joy went to the front of the room, calling with her the students who had completed their books last year or earlier in the class, and began teaching. Hung Shen remained at the back of the classroom with the students who had not yet finished creating their books, assisting them in creating and affixing book binding, as well as page making. Twice (that I saw), Hung Shen took the women's books out of their hands and did these steps for them, instead of modeling or explaining.

The last step in making blank books was to create and affix titles on the front cover of each book. The women were to pick out a third pattern of fabric, on which Joy or I wrote their first initial or initials in pen in bubble letters. The women then cut out the fabric initial(s), and placed it/them on the front cover of their books, as shown below. Next, I glued the initial(s) on the front of their books in the place they desired.



Figure 13. The women glue fabric initials onto the front of their books.

These books were stored in Joy's wooden book and supply cabinet, on the same shelf with commercial texts. The shelf location of the handmade books was marked with a label crafted out of green painting tape; it read, "Our books," as shown below.



Figure 14. Handmade books in classroom cupboard.

The process described above positioned the learners in the classroom in several ways. First, like learners and teachers in other adult ESL and family literacy programs, the learners and

Joy were at the center of state and federal funding dynamics that give low priority to this programming. The need for Joy to use repurposed materials in the creation of these books again underscored the small size of the REC's budget, which is not uncommon for small non-profit community-based organizations. One interpretation of these dynamics is that the use of repurposed materials positioned the women in this classroom as not worth the cost of up-to-date curricula and new materials, as described above in subsection "Free reading." Another interpretation, not mutually exclusive of the previous one, is that the need for Joy and learners to repurpose materials and create their own handmade books opened opportunities for creativity and agency. For instance, as the learners transformed everyday, cast-off materials into books, they were positioned as designers, crafters, book-binders, and as participants in storylines of ecological efforts that value reusing materials that might otherwise end up in a landfill. Additionally, learners were positioned as co-collaborators and co-teachers during this activity, as Joy called on the learners to assist one another as seen in the images above. This was particularly clear in the case of Hung Shen, who was positioned as a teaching assistant when Joy left bookmaking in her charge in order to begin regular class instruction.

Further, using learners' initials as book titles positioned learners in unexpected ways. Joy's intention was that the initials would help class members more easily distinguish which book belonged to whom; in fact, that was the case. However, I propose that using the women's initials as book titles also carried unanticipated symbolism and social significance (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). Arguably, one of the most important things to know about a book is its title: the title is indexed in libraries and it is commonly what is used to make book recommendations. Titles also commonly identify topic, genre, and purpose. In a sense, then, using initials as titles communicated, "This is a book about me." Positioning learners as

important, worthy of having a book of which they themselves were the topic, since, as seen below, the learners' experiences take center stage in the books' content.

Finally, as shown above, the learners' books were stored in Joy's cupboard on the second shelf down, that is, on the same shelf as the commercial texts that Joy drew on from time to time. If that shelf is "read" as if it were a line in a book, from left to right, we see that the learners' books took precedence as the first item on the "line." Whether intentional or not, storing the books in this place positioned the women's books—and by extension, their experiences as told in LEA stories (described below)—as prominent, particularly in relationship to more generic commercially available texts.

4.1.2.2 *LEA stories.* As mentioned above, the handmade books were the core text of Joy's classroom. The books were populated with texts created by Joy and the learners during class throughout the course of the school year or, in the case of learners who joined for spring semester only, over the course of one semester. Primarily, the texts were created using the Language Experience Approach (LEA).

Grounded in principles of participatory literacy, the Language Experience Approach (LEA) "incorporates students' retellings of home and community events to create reading materials for instructional purposes...and written transcriptions about these events for use in reading and writing instruction" (Landis, Umolu & Mancha, 2010, p. 580). The origins of this approach are commonly attributed to Ashton Warner (1963) in her work with Maori children in New Zealand. Key to this approach is the mediating role of scribe, enacted by a teacher or more advanced learner (Mace, 2002), as described in more detail below.

In Joy's class, "community events" included class field trips to community sites such as the library, museums, historical sites, the local fire department, and, on one occasion,

volunteering as a class at an elementary school. Every month included at least one, if not several, field trips. On field trip days, learners who frequently arrived to class late showed up on time in order not to miss the class's departure in the REC's parent organization's large white passenger van. Toward the end of the school year, as Joy was driving learners back to the REC, one learner got her attention and asked, "Teacher, where going tomorrow?" (audio recording, May 6, 2015). In short, learners appeared to enjoy the field trips; their enthusiasm was perhaps due in part to Joy's preparation for the field trips during class, as described below.

The creation of LEA stories based on those community-based learning experiences followed a formulaic, yet flexible, five-step structure shown in Appendix F. In the sections that follow, I briefly describe and demonstrate each step with data from a focal event—an educational visit from local firefighters to REC on March 11, 2015—giving special attention to Joy's mediation at each step, as this reveals some of her values surrounding literacy and classroom content.

The visit from the firefighters was both typical and unusual. For instance, it was common for community members to visit the REC and share more about their work and services, e.g., summer camps for children, the local food bank, social workers. However, it was unusual for Joy to use such an experience to create an LEA story with the class, and for that original LEA story to give rise to another, as I will describe below.

4.1.2.2.1 Step 1: Preparation for experience. In the first step, Joy would announce the upcoming community-based learning experience with the intent of stimulating knowledge surrounding cultural practices and spaces, building English vocabulary, and generating enthusiasm amongst the women in class. Common preparations involved looking at pictures and videos on her laptop or reading short texts designed for adult English learners together; for

instance, the class read a short text about Martin Luther King, Jr. together and watched a YouTube video of his “I Have a Dream” speech prior to visiting a memorial for him. In the data presented here, Joy prepared the class for a visit from local firefighters and chose to conduct a read-aloud from the children’s book, *What happens at a fire house?* (Pohl, 2006). This text is part of an educational series entitled *Where People Work*, featuring a cartoon animal “Buddy” who explains real pictures of people at work via cartoon-like callouts. Buddy primarily uses simple syntactic structures with few subordinate clauses, e.g., “They clean their helmets. They clean and check their masks. The masks help them breathe when they are fighting fires” (Pohl, 2006, p. 14).

The following data excerpt drawn from classroom audio recording and field notes shows Joy announcing and setting up the read-aloud in preparation for the firefighters’ visit.

		Theme
1	Joy: so today is something <u>very</u> special. something is here. do you know what is here? (writes on whiteboard “the fire truck is here”) something <u>very</u> big (.) is downstairs.	firetruck
2	Aisa: firetruck.	"
3	Joy: you <u>kno:w</u> . how do you <u>know</u> , Aisa?	"
4	Aisa: (laughs) I saw the truck.	"
5	Joy: (pitch begins high, drops) <u>yea::h</u>	"
6	Joy and learners (reading chorally with Joy pointing to each word with a pointer stick): the (.) fire (.) truck (.) is (.) here	"
7	Joy: <u>yeah</u> <u>downstairs</u> so right now your babies are all downstairs looking at the fire truck.	firetruck/babies
8	Htet: yeah.	"
9	Joy: and then (administrator’s name) will come and say, “oka:y (.) mommies (.) <u>you</u> can go look at the firetruck.” uh-hu:h.	firetruck/"mommies"
10	so I brought some books? that we can look at about the firetruck together. ummm (.)	books/firetruck
11	you know what I think? Yaw Shen, Hung Shen, Htet can I take	classroom layout

	your table? I wanna take it. (pushes tables into a U shape closer to front of room.) it's okay I will. (waves off women attempting to help move tables.)	
12	(5 turns later)	
13	Joy: okay come come come. (moves her chair from desk at left of classroom to opening of U-shape, motions for women to pull their chairs toward new table arrangement, looks at complete rearrangement.) I don't know. I'm gonna try it. all right. we're trying this. see if it works.	classroom layout
14	okay I'm going to tell you about the fire truck so when we go downstairs we'll be ready.	Fire truck

(audio recording and field notes, March 11, 2015)

In this excerpt, Joy appeared to begin attempting to incite interest in the day's event through asking questions and through word choice, stress, and pitch, e.g., “do you know what is here?, very special, very big, yea::h” (lines 1, 3, 5). In line 3 in particular, her question to Aisa and word stress (“you know. how do you know...”) indicate that she may have been surprised that Aisa knew the answer to her question. In line 6, Joy used her pointer stick as a tool to lead the class in choral reading of the sentence she had previously written on the board. Next, Joy told learners that their children were with the fire truck, and that their turn would soon follow (lines 7 and 9). The next two lines each introduce a change in theme: first, Joy announced she brought books about fire trucks to “look at ... together” (line 10). Second, Joy began changing the classroom layout (line 11), which continued through line 13. The excerpt closed with Joy transitioning back to the theme of the fire truck (line 14).

In this excerpt, Joy again drew on storylines of literacy as a shared activity in classrooms. For instance, choral reading, led by Joy with her pointer stick served to bring learners together, focusing their collective attention and supporting one another in carrying out the oral reading, as also seen in previous sections of this paper. Additionally, Joy's intention in conducting a read-aloud was not only for the entire class to share in reading and listening, but also for them to learn

more about firefighters and their work: she brought the books for class members to explore “together” (line 10), and she arranged classroom space to facilitate this sharing (lines 11, 13). In this way, learners were positioned as participants in valued literacy practices in the social arena of classrooms of emergent readers.

These data also briefly show how the learners in Joy’s classroom were frequently positioned as mothers at REC, a topic I discussed above. In line 9, Joy voiced the main school administrator, “oka:y (.) mommies (.) you can go look at the fire truck.” Calling adult learners at REC “mommies” was common across the data set by all of the REC staff: adult and early childhood teachers and administrators alike. This positioned women as mothers within the classroom and throughout the school. In each case, it is an example of “moral positioning,” that is, positioning others into a recognizable social role (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 21).

Finally, as briefly described above, and as seen in accompanying images, Joy also rearranged the classroom to mirror a common layout during elementary school read-alouds: learners sitting close to teacher in a U-shape, teacher at center-top of U opening. Further, Joy’s choice for this read-aloud added another layer of complexity: although the use of children’s materials in adult education is contested, her choice was in line with administrative expectations that adult instruction include content and materials from the school’s concurrent early childhood programming, as described in the Methods section of this paper. By choosing a children’s book for this activity and rearranging the classroom to mimic a common elementary school layout, Joy blurred storylines of “patterns of (practice) that tend to unfold in particular kinds of social arenas” (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2). That is, in the social arena of adult EAL classrooms, one does not necessarily expect to see children’s materials during instruction.



Figure 15. Class set-up for read-aloud of children's book *What happens at a fire house?* (Pohl, 2006).

One interpretation is that this blurring positioned learners in Joy's classroom as children. A second interpretation is that Joy was modeling for the mothers in her classroom ways they might share books with their children; this interpretation again underscores learners' positioning as mothers and literacy-workers-in-training. A third interpretation is that Joy's choice of book and arrangement of the classroom positioned learners in a third space: between, or potentially outside of, an adult/child binary.

4.1.2.2.2 Step 2: Community-based experiences. Next, as the class moved into community spaces for their field trips, Joy drew the learners' attention to images, words, and artifacts that appeared in texts they had previously reviewed together. This is demonstrated by the following field note recorded after the firefighters' visit.

As they (firefighters) were talking, Joy would point at things and repeat what they said but more slowly. Or sometimes she would ask a question that their stories had just

answered, which made them repeat like, ‘So that’s the hose? Look, students, just like in the book. How much water does it carry? Wow!’ (field notes, March 11, 2015)

This short excerpt shows how Joy used language to model “patterns of interaction” expected from learners in the “social arena” of an educational presentation (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2), as well as to attempt to mediate (make more comprehensible) the firefighters’ presentation. Specifically, she took up the subject position of learner in order to teach; that is, voicing a learner position (e.g., “So that’s the hose?”) was a means to model which information she felt was most important for learners to direct their attention to. Field notes indicate that Joy also used bodily orientation to accomplish these shifts in positionality, for instance, standing closer to firefighters and facing students when taking up the position of teacher, e.g., “Look students, just like in the book.” An alternative interpretation is that Joy’s use of language and nonverbals perhaps blurred the lines between teacher and learner as she voiced her questions.

In this excerpt, Joy positioned learners as *students* in two main ways. First and most overtly, this positioning occurred when she called the women in her class “students,” a case of “moral positioning” (i.e., positioning others in recognizable social roles; van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 21). Second, Joy accomplished this positioning by modeling for learners some of the language and actions of an active, curious language learner. She did this through her questions to the firefighters, as well as the way she modeled how to listen. For instance, as Joy showed how to focus on select details of an oral presentation, and monitor for comprehension, she demonstrated the expected “patterns of interaction” of L2 learner-listeners in an educational presentation, and more generally: language learners (and others) listen with a purpose. Joy’s modeling had the additional purpose of communicating to learners what portions of the firefighters’ presentation she felt were most important. Finally, her speech served to model other

expected interactional patterns of ‘good students’: they attempt to make multiple connections between previous knowledge and experiences and new learning (i.e., “Look, students, just like in the book!”).

4.1.2.2.3 Step 3: Generating and recording learner language. Next, upon returning to the classroom, Joy engaged learners in generating oral language to collaboratively recount their experience, drawing on the five senses and 5 Ws and H questions: Where did we go? Whom did we see? What did we hear, smell, taste, touch? What did we learn? How do you feel? To spur learners’ thinking, she sometimes showed pictures that she and/or learners had taken with their phones. As learners verbally provided words and phrases, Joy wrote them in no particular order on the whiteboard or a piece of butcher paper for all to see, usually expanding learners’ thoughts into sentences. The following excerpt drawn from audio recordings and field notes demonstrates a portion of the process of generating and recording learners’ oral language after the firefighters’ visit. Joy was standing at the white board with a dry erase marker and learners were sitting at their tables.

		Theme
1	Joy: okay okay okay. what did we see. what on the fire truck.	Fire truck
2	(Simultaneously talking, noise from hall)	
3	Joy: (closes walks across room and closes door to hall) what were they wearing.	firefighters' clothing
4	Unidentified Student: clothes for the fire.	“
5	Joy: yeah what kind of clothes.	“
6	Sahra: hat	“
7	Joy: mhm yeah (begins writing ‘hat’ on white board)	“
8	Yaw Shen: everyone fire truck picture	taking pictures with firetruck
9	Joy: (still writing ‘hat’) yeah, Yaw Shen you’re you’re saying good things.	firefighters' clothing

10	helmet. (writes 'helmet') what is this? (shows picture of firefighter from her phone)	“
11	Sahra: jacket	“
12	Joy: yeah jacket good (writes 'jacket')	“
13	Student: shoes shoes boots=	“
14	Joy: =boo::ts very good (writes 'boots')	“
15	and what's on his back (reaches to tap on her upper back)	firefighters' gear
16	Sahra: oxygen	“
17	Joy: oxyge::n very good (writing 'oxygen')	“
18	okay Yaw Shen what did you say? what did we see?	Yaw Shen's contribution
19	Yaw Shen: everyone everyone take everyone fire truck take picture (laughing)	taking pictures with fire truck
20	Joy: ye::s (laughing) everyo:ne (writes 'everyone took pictures with the fire truck')	“
21	let's see did he tell us anything do you remember <u>anything</u> he <u>said</u> ?	firefighter's comments
22	(Students speaking quietly.)	
23	Joy: do you remember anything the fireman said?	“
24	Aisa: yeah yeah	“
25	Joy: what did he say if there's a fire what should you do. what did he say.	“
26	Aisa: if a fire=	“
27	Joy: =yeah	“
28	Aisa: uh outsi walk out outside=	“
29	Joy: = ye::s=	“
30	Aisa: =and close the door.	“
31	Joy: ye:s (claps hands together) woo:: very goo:d (gives Aisa a 'high five')	firefighters' comments/ Aisa's contributions

(audio recording and field notes, March 11, 2015)

In this excerpt, Joy began with a general question about the firefighters' visit (line 1), then narrowed her questioning to clothing and clothing types (lines 3 and 5). As students began providing specific clothing types (e.g., line 6), Joy began writing their contributions on the board (e.g., line 7). In line 8, Yaw Shen answered Joy's initial question from line 1, commenting that

everyone took pictures with the fire truck. In line 9, Joy told Yaw Shen she was “saying good things” but did not record her ideas, perhaps to permit the class to finish generating clothing vocabulary before moving on. In the next line, Joy used a picture from her phone as a tool to mediate learners’ production of oral language. In lines 11 and 13, learners correctly responded to Joy’s question and Joy affirmed their responses in lines 12 and 14, orally and by writing their contributions (e.g., “jacket,” “boots”) on the board.

In line 15, Joy used gesture to elicit from learners the name of a specific piece of firefighters’ gear. Sahra responded correctly (“oxygen,” line 16), and Joy wrote her response on the board (line 17). In line 18, Joy returned to Yaw Shen to ask her to repeat her contribution. Yaw Shen repeated her thought, although in different words (line 19), and Joy added Yaw Shen’s response to the whiteboard (line 20). In lines 21 and 23, Joy turned to questions regarding what the learners heard the firefighters say. In line 24, Aisa confirmed that she remembered something the firefighters said, but did not specify what. Joy probed for more information in line 25. Lines 26-31 consist of three sets of turn-taking between Aisa and Joy, with Aisa providing a portion of a sentence in each turn (lines 26, 28, and 30), and Joy affirming each of her turns orally and with gesture (e.g., clapping her hands, giving a high five; lines 27, 29, and 31).

Here, my focus is on patterns of interaction and action used by Joy to support learners’ production of oral language. One pattern of interaction (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2) in these data was the classroom interactional sequence frequently called “Initiation, Response, Feedback” or “IRF” (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975); this was a common interactional pattern in Joy’s classroom. For instance, in line 3 Joy initiated an IRF sequence with the question, “what were they wearing.” An unidentified student responded, “clothes for the fire” (line 4). Joy provided

feedback (line 5, “yeah”), and initiated another IRF sequence (“what kind of clothes”). Sahra provided a response (line 6, “hat”), and Joy provided two kinds of feedback to her (line 7), oral feedback (“mhm yeah”) and written feedback; that is, by writing Sahra’s response on the whiteboard, Joy provided a positive evaluation of her contribution. Occasionally IRF sequences took the form of IRFRF, as in lines 10 through 14. In those lines, Joy initiated an interaction in line 10, Sahra responded in line 11, and Joy provided feedback in line 12. However, in line 13 an unidentified learner also responded to Joy’s question from line 10. Joy provided feedback to that learner in line 14. Here, then, we see the sequence IRFRF.

In addition to using IRF sequences and feedback, Joy also used additional actions with mediating means to elicit oral language from learners, such as a photograph (line 10), gesture (line 15), and oral encouragement (e.g., lines 27, 29). Joy’s actions were “socially meaningful” (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003): learners responded by producing oral language for this story. Joy’s language and actions also guided and shaped what language was produced (e.g., lines 6, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 26, 28, and 30). For instance, asking about the kinds of clothes firefighters wear elicited the names of firefighters’ clothing. Similarly, showing a picture of a firefighter from her phone and asking, “What is this?”, elicited an additional specific clothing item.

In these interactional patterns, then, learners were positioned primarily as responders — responders to Joy’s questions, to her gesture, to her picture, and, in the case of Aisa, a responder to Joy’s feedback (lines 26-30). One interpretation is that Joy’s language and actions with mediational means (pictures, gesture) over-determined the production of language that would eventually appear in this LEA story. Particularly, the use of IRF sequences during classroom talk has been critiqued, as it commonly centers the teacher and elicits mostly “display” questions

from learners, depriving them of the opportunity to provide more extended speech (e.g., Lemke, 1990; Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991).

An alternative view is drawn from literature pointing to the productive potential of IRF sequences in some cases (e.g., Nassaji & Wells, 2000; Wells, 1993). Specifically, it is possible that Joy's use of the interactional pattern of IRF sequences provided needed structure to support these beginning-level learners' production of oral language. In this way, we can understand Joy's use of IRF sequences as a scaffold, which may be particularly vital for beginning level language learners. Finally, writing learners' contributions on the board affirmed their responses, positioning them as co-authors in the beginning stages of this writing process; the author positioning is taken up in more detail below.

4.1.2.2.4 Step 4: Reviewing and planning for writing. When Joy and the learners were finished sharing details about their experience, Joy engaged the class in chorally reading what she had written on the board or butcher paper, again using a stick as a pointer. As the class read aloud together, Joy numbered each sentence, thus planning the order in which she would re-write them in Step 5 (see below). However, for the story generated from the firefighters' visit, Joy decided she was satisfied with the event order and syntax she had chosen as she recorded learners' contributions during Step 3, stating, "I think I like it how it is" (audio recording, March 11, 2015). Thus, the final text of the LEA firefighter story is the same as what Joy wrote on the whiteboard in Step 3, as shown below; the story read as follows:

We saw a fire truck. The fire man wore a helmet, jacket, boots, and oxygen. The fireman said, "If a fire, take children go outside. Close the door. Call 911." We saw a long hose. There is 500 gallons inside the truck. We saw a water gun that can break a window and shoot water into the burning building.

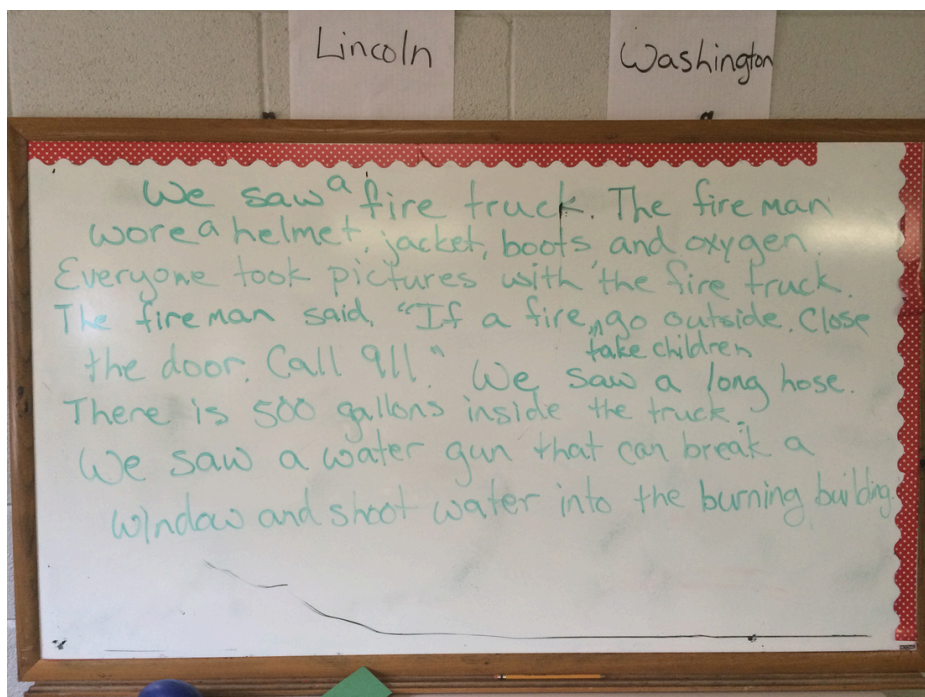


Figure 16. LEA story of the firefighters' visit.

Joy's language and actions at this step shaped the final story structure and shed light on some of her expectations surrounding interactional patterns and practices during the creation of texts. For instance, as Joy numbered learner's contributions during choral reading, she put order to their language, thus planning the final order of the story. This positioned learners as having the right to generate language, but not to determine the arrangement that language. In other words, Joy's actions and language not only informed the final story structure, they also demonstrated the social norm of writing consisting of a specific set of steps in a process: generating ideas (as seen in Step 3 above), reviewing and rearranging those ideas (as seen here in Step 4), and writing final drafts (Step 5, seen below).

Here, as in the data from Step 1, engaging learners in choral reading was a means to focus all learners' attention on reading and supporting one another's reading—again drawing on storylines of literacy as shared. This again positioned learners as new readers and as members of

a group engaging in a literacy activity that is commonly practiced in U.S. classrooms for young emergent readers. In other words, as in Step 1, learners were positioned as participants in valued literacy practices in the social arena of classrooms of emergent readers.

Finally, utilizing the lexical item “we” to recount this and other LEA stories, underscored the shared nature of composing in Joy’s classroom (e.g., “We visited...” “We saw...”). This further positioned the learners as textual insiders, that is, as women with the right to create texts and tell their stories, rather than as textual outsiders who have the duty to consume texts and stories about others. In other words, this positioning disrupted storylines of traditional schooling and the rights and duties of learners vis-à-vis texts and the stories presented in those texts.

4.1.2.2.5 Step 5: *Drafting and publishing.* Here, Joy and the learners took up different tasks. Joy would write a final draft of the LEA story on a piece of butcher paper, signifying it was published by taping it to the back-classroom wall, where all LEA stories were posted together, as seen below.



Figure 17. Class-generated LEA stories “published” on back wall of classroom.

The learners copied a first draft of the story into their notebooks and received feedback from Joy and me—mainly on spelling and English print conventions, as many women were beginning to read and write for the first time in their lives (e.g., forming and orienting letters, writing left to right, putting spaces between words, wrapping text, using capital letters and punctuation). As learners became familiar with the kinds of revisions Joy sought, she asked them to check their own work first. Once Joy and a learner agreed that the first draft had been copied correctly into her notebook, the learner wrote a final draft on a half sheet of 8.5 x 11 paper and made an accompanying illustration.

Learners published their final drafts by pasting the half sheets into the books they had previously made by hand with cardboard, as described in the previous section. Joy had clear criteria to guide her decisions regarding when a text was read and worthy of being pasted into

learners' books: "It needed to be neat and legible and usually have a picture that went along with it" (interview, November 13, 2015).

In the case of the firefighter's visit, in lieu of each learner creating her own copy of the LEA story for her handmade book, the entire class collaborated to create one whole book for that single story together; each learner was in charge of one page, that is, one sentence and its accompanying illustration. Page 3 of the LEA book based on the firefighters' visit is shown in the image below. After creating the book, Joy then brought the learners on a field trip to the local fire station; the learners gave the book to the firefighters who had visited, and took a tour of the fire station (field notes, March 16, 2015). That field trip then served as fodder for the class's next LEA story, which began, "On Wednesday, we went to the fire station..."

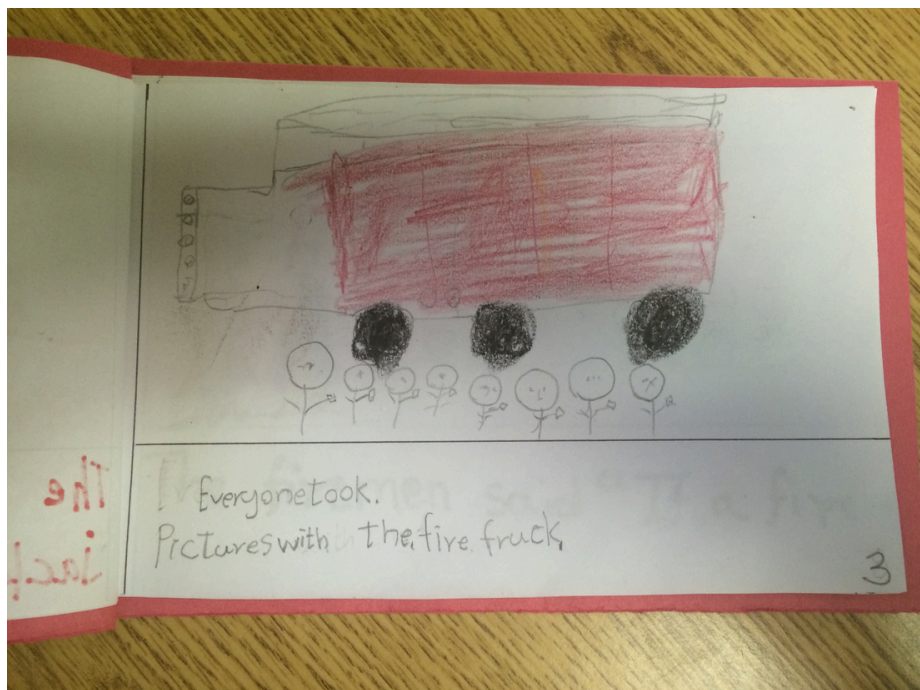


Figure 18. Page 3, LEA book of firefighters' visit

In these data, Joy's actions with mediational means centered on norms of writing as process and product, with a focus on what makes a text worthy of publishing; this served to

position learners in various ways. For instance, the story as recorded on the butcher paper (“final version”) served as a record of the women’s co-authorship. The action of pasting the butcher paper copy of the LEA story on the wall, then, positioned learners as published co-authors — at least as publishing was understood and enacted in this classroom. As learners copied the LEA story into their notebooks, and Joy and I provided feedback, learners were not only socialized into conventions of English print (capitalization, spacing, punctuation), but also into the notion that correctness was valued in producing written texts. Further, as Joy asked learners to try to find their own errors in copying the LEA story, this positioned learners as editors of their own work. However, correctness was not the only norm valued by Joy. Her requirement that every story be accompanied by an illustration also communicated a value in connecting graphic literacies with print. As learners illustrated their own stories and pasted them into their books, then they were positioned as both illustrators and publishers.

4.1.2.3 *Making sense of social positioning through creating texts.* The data above describe the creation of texts in Joy’s classroom, in particular the processes involved in crafting handmade books and LEA stories, which served as the core classroom text. These processes entailed multiple steps to make blank books (with recycled materials) and to produce LEA stories to populate those books. A close examination of these processes reveals some of Joy’s common teaching practices (i.e., moving teaching/learning outside of the classroom, utilizing IRF sequences), as well as some of the interactional patterns she values surrounding texts and their production (i.e., interactions between people, as well as between people and texts); for instance, writing and reading collaboratively (i.e., group brainstorming, choral reading); writing-as-process (i.e., making drafts); writing-as-product (i.e., producing written texts with correct

spelling, capitalization, punctuation, etc.); and texts as aesthetically pleasing (i.e., stories accompanied by illustrations; book covers that conceal unfinished edges).

Throughout the data above, learners were frequently positioned as *students* — whether overtly, as when Joy led choral reading or said, “Look, students...,” or more subtly, as when Joy shifted between the subject positions of student and teacher to model how to effectively listen to the firefighters’ presentation (Step 2 above). Most frequently, learners were positioned as participants in storylines (or “patterns of interaction”) surrounding literacy and content that are commonly valued in the social arena of U.S. academic settings (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2). For instance, as Joy engaged class members in activities such as collaborative writing, copying, editing, and illustrating stories, learners not only (ideally) gained proficiency in carrying out these academic tasks, but also potentially expanded their awareness surrounding the content of these tasks: that is, what language and images were culturally important or meaningful. At times, this was clearly signaled by Joy, as mentioned above (e.g., “Look students...”); at other times, this was less overt, e.g., signaled through the choice of which community sites to visit and when. This demonstrates, as Watson-Gegeo (2004) writes, that “people learn languages in social, cultural, and political contexts that constrain the linguistic forms they hear and use and also mark the social significance of linguistic and cultural forms in various ways” (p. 340).

Additionally, as shown in the data above, from language used, to story structure, to what counts as “publishable,” Joy’s language and actions with mediational means played a major role in shaping the production of LEA stories in this classroom. Yet, drawing on learners’ oral language (Step 3) also positioned the learners as legitimate co-creators of classroom texts based on their own experiences, rather than as consumers of texts with which they may identify only abstractly. The LEA stories further served as a record of the women’s shared participation in

community spaces and practices that were new to most, i.e., “we visited ...”; “we saw....” Co-creating stories together based on this participation, then, positioned learners as experts surrounding each field trip (or interaction with community members, as in the case of the firefighters’ visit); since these spaces were new to most, this expertise may have extended beyond the classroom to interactions with family and friends. In a sense, then, the production of LEA stories in Joy’s classroom afforded learners a way to use English to “write themselves into” the times and places of their surrounding communities (Trend, 1994, p. 226).

Finally, although appearing only briefly in these data, the subject position of “mother” was assigned to the learners in Joy’s classroom daily throughout the school year—sometimes multiple times per day. Most commonly, the collective name for the women enrolled at the REC was “mommies,” as seen in the data above (Step 1). We also see the learners positioned as mothers with Joy’s gathering the learners around a table for a read-aloud. That is, if we interpret that data excerpt as Joy modeling for learners how to “do literacy” with their children, the learners are positioned as literacy-workers-in-training. This can be understood as an extension of storylines of “mother-as-primary-literacy-workers” described in the literature review (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Luttrell, 1996). In this case (and in the examples provided earlier in this chapter), learners were not only positioned as primary literacy workers, but as mothers in need of training surrounding literacy activities with their children—implying that the home literacy practices in place were either not right or insufficient, and the mothers thus had the duty to adopt (or simply add) specific literacy practices in the “social arena” of the home (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2).

4.2 Learners’ Language and Literacy Practices and Social Positioning

This section addresses research question two: What are the learners’ language and literacy practices within the context of this classroom? How do these practices position the

learners?” In what follows, I defined learners’ language and literacy practices as those practices taken up without observable prompting from Joy during the interaction or event in question. For instance, as seen below, learners utilized mobile technologies in ways Joy did not imagine, model, or request of them.

4.2.1 Social positioning and turn-taking.

As noted above, the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) turn-taking sequence was common in Joy’s classroom. This section describes how the learners in Joy’s class engaged in self-positioning when they spoke outside of teacher-initiated IRF sequences (during whole-class interaction, specifically), initiating one or more interactional sequences. The data demonstrate that learners spoke outside of IRF sequences to introduce new themes into classroom discourse; to make appeals for assistance (e.g., requests for feedback, clarification questions); to self-support; to make jokes; and to make connections and comparisons between people, places, and times (e.g., the U.S. and “home”; now and past moments; Joy/me and our home states). In doing so, the learners positioned themselves as particular kinds of students (e.g., good student, jokester) and as cross-cultural experts, as described in the next two sections.

In considering the interactional data that follow, readers should recall two things. First, Joy rarely called on individual learners to speak during whole-class activities. When asked about her philosophies surrounding learners’ oral participation in class, Joy expressed a preference to let learners speak “when they felt comfortable” (interview February 11, 2015). At other points during the study, she expressed beliefs that adult language learners should be allowed a silent period (e.g., interview December 11, 2014), as well as be provided “a space that is conducive for learning and they need to feel comfortable in it” (interview November 15, 2016). Joy pointed to her graduate-level training in SLA and adult learning respectively, as the sources for these

beliefs. Examining Joy's beliefs helps us understand some roots of common interaction patterns in her classroom, such as the prevalence of IRF sequences during whole-class activities.

Second, perhaps related to the first point, the data show that, during whole-class activities, learners did not speak outside of IRF sequences frequently. For instance, during fall semester, 18 class sessions were audio recorded of which 15 contain *zero* instances of learners taking up the position of initiator during whole-class activities. On the surface, classroom interaction during spring semester appears different: Out of the 32 class sessions audio recorded during spring semester, 21 had at least one instance of a learner or learners initiating interactions during whole-class activities—only 11 did not. However, new learners were admitted to the REC in January, and the initiations of two learners that began attending Joy's class account for 18 of the instances of learners speaking outside of IRF sequences during whole-class activities during spring semester. In a sense, then, occasions in which learners spoke outside of IRF-sequences can be understood as events of second-order positioning (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999), that is, a renegotiation of Joy's first-order positioning of learners as "responders," which was common across the data set, as described above.

4.2.1.1 *Student positioning.*

As learners in Joy's classroom spoke outside of IRF sequences, they unsurprisingly took up the subject position of student; this was particularly common through appeals for assistance (e.g., requesting feedback or asking clarification questions). In doing so, learners positioned themselves as particular kinds of students, such as good student, self-aware student, and class jokester. In what follows, I examine how learners' turns outside of teacher-initiated IRF sequences, including their appeals for assistance, accomplished these positionings; I also provide

one counter-example that demonstrates how an appeal for assistance disrupted the teacher-student dichotomy.

4.2.1.1.1 “*Look at the signs.*” One example comes from early spring semester when Joy was teaching content surrounding U.S. history and the 1960’s era civil rights movement. That day, Joy utilized a textbook designed to assist adult learners in preparing for the U.S. citizenship exam, *Citizenship: Passing the test* (Weintraub, 2009). Learners’ books were open to page 90 (see below), the top of which features a ½-page black and white image of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other leaders walking arm-in-arm at the March on Washington on August 28, 1963, a key event in the U.S. civil rights movement that culminated with Dr. King’s famous “I Have a Dream” speech.

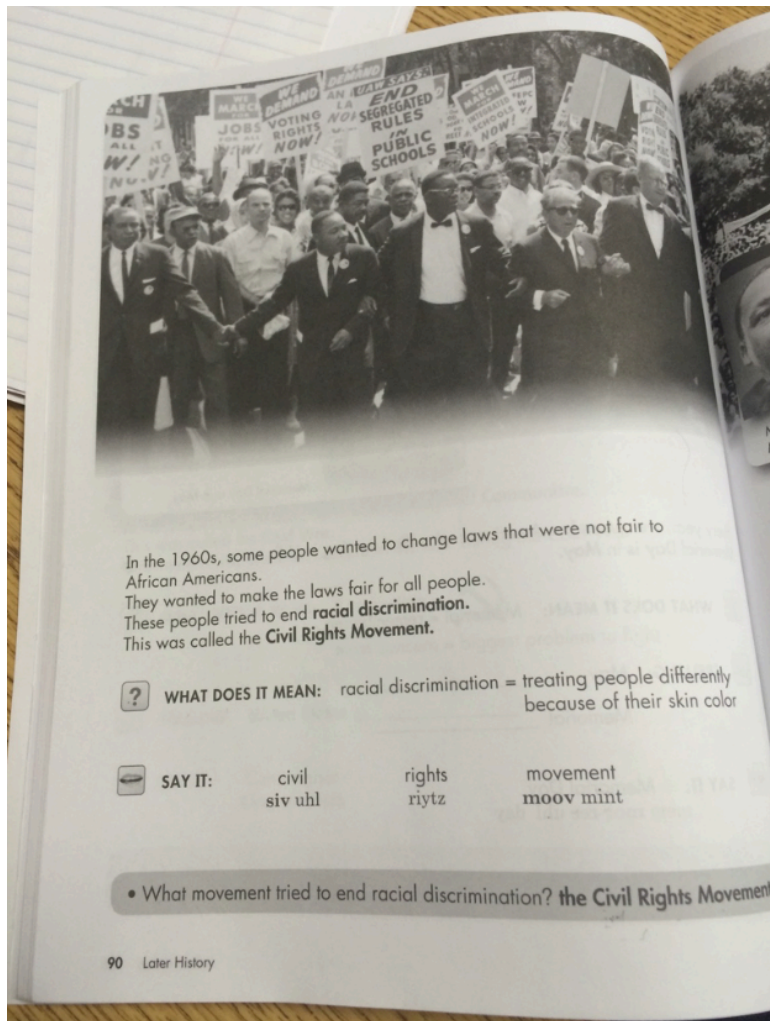


Figure 19. Page 90 of *Citizenship: Passing the test* (Weintraub, 2009).

As the image shows, behind Dr. King and the leaders, others were walking with signs reading, “End segregated rules in public schools,” “We demand voting rights now,” and others (Weintraub, 2009, p. 90). Joy began the lesson by drawing learners’ attention to the photograph and asking what they saw. The following transcript highlights both turn-taking and the negotiation of thematic coherence during this interaction. (Transcription conventions appear in Appendix G.)

		Theme
1	Joy: how many people are in this picture? one two three?	picture
2	Htet: [four	“
3	Ss (uniden.): [a lot	“
4	Joy: a lot. a lot of people. why do you think there are so many people. a lot of people.	“
5	(Ss speaking simultaneously.)	“
6	Joy: why. and where are their hands. do you see them holding something?	“
7	Ss: (inaud.)	“
8	Joy: yeah, this is called a sign. sign.	picture, language
9	Hla: sign?	picture?, language
10	Joy: sign. when they hold something um you know outside? in the street (.) stop? sign?	language
11	Ss (speaking simultaneously): yes yes mhm:	“
12	Joy: this is also called a sign=	“
13	Ss (uniden.): =sign.	“
14	Joy: it says what to do. okay?	“
15	so they're holding a sign. what does the sign say. what does the sign say. can you read it?	picture
16	(Students speaking quietly simultaneously.)	“
17	Joy: oh what do these say can you read these?	“
18	Aisa: where. where. Joy?	“
19	Joy: look at the look at the signs.	“
20	this is a sign.	picture, language
21	what does it say. what do these say. do you know any words on here?	“
22	Yaw Shen: jo:bs scho:ol	“
23	Joy: jobs school good.	“
24	Aisa: school? vote?	“
25	Joy (writing on board): vote <u>good</u> uh-huh	“

(audio recording, January 21, 2015)

This excerpt begins with two IRF sequences in lines 1-4 and 6-8, the theme of which is the picture described above. In line 8, Joy closed the second IRF sequence by providing feedback, introducing a new lexical item, and repeating it twice, “yeah, this is called a sign. sign.” In doing so, she also introduced a new theme: the language necessary for describing the picture. Hla repeated the new lexical item, “sign,” with rising intonation, potentially a signal of uncertainty; her repetition also served to ratify Joy’s shift in theme. In line 10, Joy again said, “sign,” with falling intonation —perhaps in response to Hla’s rising intonation—and continued with the language theme as she provided further explanation and proposed an intertextual link (Bloome et al., 2006) between the signs in the picture and another kind of sign learners may have seen in their everyday lives: stop signs. Several learners acknowledged the proposed intertextual link (line 11, “yes yes mhm”) and Joy continued to explain the link (line 12), “this is also called a sign.” Immediately as Joy finished this turn, one of the learners again repeated the new lexical item (line 13), continuing the theme of language. In her next turn, Joy first provided an explanation of the purposes of signs (line 14), which continued the theme of language, then shifted back to the theme of the picture (line 15).

In line 17, Joy initiated another IRF sequence surrounding the theme of the picture, asking learners what the signs say. Aisa was not sure where she should be looking in the text (line 18), and asked Joy for clarification, which served to interrupt the IRF sequence begun by Joy. Joy’s response to Aisa (“this is a sign,” line 19) suggests she may have been pointing directly at the signs in the picture in her own or Aisa’s book. In line 21, Joy returned to her earlier initiation sequence, asking learners if they recognized any individual words on the signs. Yaw Shen and Aisa provided responses in line 22 and 24, both of which Joy affirmed (lines 23 and 25), thus ending this excerpt with two IRF sequences.

My focus in this analysis are learners' speech in lines 9 and 13 (by Hla and an unidentified learner respectively), as well as Aisa's request for assistance in line 18. First, as Hla's intonation rose in line 9, she conveyed uncertainty, whether intentional or not. Based on Joy's response in line 10, I interpret Hla's turn in line 9 as an appeal for assistance, that is, to position the teacher as a mediating means, which served to position Hla as a student within this interaction. Further, as noted above, Hla's appeal for assistance simultaneously ratified Joy's proposal of thematic shift, signaling collaboration in negotiating the thematic coherence of this interaction, and thus positioning Hla as a particular kind of student at this moment: a collaborative, skilled, and self-aware one. That is, her question signaled that she was not only cognizant of the shift in theme (even if only subconsciously), she was following Joy's lead, which is certainly not required when teachers propose such a shift (Bloome et al., 2006).

In line 13, an unidentified learner—I will call her "Learner A"—also repeated the new lexical item "sign," with dropping intonation. It is unknown to whom Learner A directed her speech; if to herself, this could be interpreted as an act of private speech as a mediating means (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). If Learner A directed her speech to Joy, this was possibly an appeal for assistance, specifically, a request for the teacher to confirm that Learner A had heard or pronounced correctly. A third interpretation is that Learner A addressed another learner, either to make an appeal for assistance or to provide assistance. In the first two of these interpretations, Learner A would be self-positioning as a competent language learner, that is, whether consciously or subconsciously, Learner A was able to draw on mediating means to support her language learning. In the third interpretation, Learner A would be self-positioning either as a competent language learner or a "more skilled other" (Lantolf, 2000).

Based on my review of learners' repeating Joy's speech outside of IRF sequences across the data set, as well as learner repetitions initiated by Joy, I believe the first interpretation to be the most likely. When Joy introduced new lexical items within an ongoing theme of language—that is, unrelated to specific texts or content (e.g., learning lists of words with similar vowel sounds, rather than learning words to comprehend a text)—she frequently repeated the new words several times. In my review of the data, I found zero instances when Joy was teaching a new lexical item that she explicitly cued learners, either with language or gesture, to repeat *after* her. Rather, in each instance, she cued learners to speak chorally *with* her and/or with one another multiple times each class, most often by using her pointer. (This choice was in line with Joy's beliefs described earlier, i.e., that learners should have ample support for speaking [e.g., speaking with her, with one another, connecting speaking with reading and writing], that learners not be asked to speak on their own but rather choose when to speak during class, and that teachers provide an emotionally supportive learning environment.) However, many learners did repeat new words without Joy's explicit verbal or gestural cue to do so. Based on this evidence, I believe it is most likely that Learner A had developed a practice of repeating new words and was simply continuing it during this event.

Additionally, Learner As' turn in line 13 signaled her following and participating in constructing the thematic coherence of this subset of turns. In other words, she tracked the discourse markers that signaled the shift in theme from content to language, and her verbalization contributed to the class focus on language. In this way, her turn positioned her similarly to Hla above: as a learner who is aware and engaged in classroom discourse.

Finally, in line 18, it appears that Aisa understood that Joy intended to draw her and her classmates' attention to a specific part of the page or picture, but Aisa was uncertain precisely

where she should be looking. Her initial questions (“where. where.”) were an appeal for assistance, which positioned Aisa as a student in this interaction. Further, her appeal was specific: using Joy’s name signaled that Aisa sought assistance from the teacher particularly, not a classmate or teaching assistant, thus positioning herself as an agentic student who has the right to garner one-on-one support from the primary classroom authority figure. Her questions also position her as a “good student”—one who desires to stay on task and participate fully in whole-class activities. Overall, then, these learners engaged in common “patterns of interaction” that take place in the “social arena” of classrooms (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2).

4.2.1.1.2 “Racial discrimination.” A second example of an appeal for assistance (i.e., positioning Joy as mediating means) outside of a teacher-initiated IRF sequence came later in the same class session. At this point, the class had moved on to examining the written text that appears underneath the photo shown above. That text reads, “In the 1960s, some people wanted to change laws that were not fair to African Americans. They wanted to make the laws fair for all people. These people tried to end **racial discrimination**. This was called the **Civil Rights Movement**” (Weintraub, 2009, p. 90; emphasis in original). Joy read each sentence of the text aloud to the class, pausing to expand on historical points (e.g., roots of the need to change laws), and explain new lexical items (e.g., “fair”) and teach their pronunciation. Just prior to the following excerpt, Joy had read aloud the penultimate sentence of text (i.e., “These people tried to end racial discrimination”); wrote and drew learners’ attention to the words “racial discrimination” by writing them on the board and commenting that they formed a “big word”; and taught the words “race” and “racial.”

		Theme
1	Joy: so racial? this word? discrimination.	pronunciation
2	Ss (many at once): discrimination discrimination	“
3	Joy: how many syllables? di- scri- mi- na- tion.	syllables
4	Ss (uniden): five	“
5	Joy and Ss (asynchronously): di- scri- mi- na- tion. di- scri- mi- na- tion. di- scri- mi- na- tion	“
6	Joy (claps each syllable while saying): di- scri- mi- na- tion. di- scri- mi- na- tion.	“
7	Joy and Ss (clap together for each syllable while saying): di- scri- mi-na-tion. di- scri- mi-na-tion. di- scri- mi-na-tion. di- scri- mi-na-tion. di- scri- mi-na-tion. di- scri- mi-na-tion.	“
8	Joy: where is the power.	word stress
9	(Ss speaking at once.)	“
10	Joy: where is the power. (claps each syllable while saying) di- scri- mi- na- tion	“
11	Aisa: discrimination?	“
12	Joy: Mmmm /ne/ do you hear? discrimination	“
13	(Ss speaking at once asynchronously. T1 covers “discrimi” with her hand, leaves “nation”)	word segments
14	Ss (uniden): nation	“
15	Joy: yeah like nation of America	“
16	(Ss many talking simultaneously.)	“
17	Joy: discrimination	“
18	Sadia: c-i-a-l (inaud)	individual symbols
19	Joy: c-r-i-m	“
20	Sadia: /e/ another	?
21	Joy: racial	?
22	Sadia: this one nation?	word segments
23	Joy: mhm	“
24	Sadia: the s-h- coming "shun"=	sound-symbol correspondence
25	Joy: =yes yes yes yes=	“

26	Sadia: =me confused for me	“
27	Joy: yeah yeah yeah yeah we do this a lot in English	“
28	Sadia: yeah	“
29	Joy: (underlines ti) /ʃ ʃ/ this makes a /ʃ/ sound mhm	“
30	Sadia: and s-h	“
31	Joy: yeah it's like s-h. discrimination. racial discrimination.	“

(audio recording and field notes, January 21, 2015)

In lines 1-17, Joy and the learners were focused exclusively on the word “discrimination.” This was disrupted by Sadia in line 18, as she took the floor and spelled the last syllable of the word “racial” aloud. In the next turn, it appears that Joy was continuing to focus on the word “discrimination” (line 19). The next turn was taken by Sadia, but it is unclear on which word she was focusing (line 20). Nonetheless, Joy’s next turn (line 21) indicates that Sadia was successful in orienting Joy to her previous focus on the word racial. In line 22, Sadia successfully drew Joy’s attention back to the segment “nation,” as evidenced by Joy’s response in line 23. Sadia continued by commenting that she expected the sound /ʃ/ to correspond to the symbol combination “sh” (line 24), and she found it confusing that the word “nation” lacked the “sh” spelling (line 26). Joy acknowledged the sound-symbol correspondence differences (lines 25 and 27), and commented that inconsistencies in spelling happen “a lot in English.” Sadia’s reply, “yeah,” potentially signaled either that she agreed (i.e., the writing system of English is inconsistent) or that she understood Joy’s explanation. Joy then underlined the “ti” symbol combination while saying /ʃ ʃ/ and explaining that the “ti” makes a /ʃ/ sound in the word “discrimination” (line 29). Sadia appeared to ask again about the “sh” spelling (line 30), to which Joy responded with a comparison, namely that “t-i-” is similar to “s-h-” in the sounds it can represent.

In this excerpt, Sadia positioned herself as a metalinguistically aware student who was cognizant of sound-symbol correlation patterns and, more specifically, of when a representation of speech did not conform to the patterns she knew. Her appeal for assistance in line 22 appeared to be an attempt to confirm her comprehension of Joy’s instruction (line 13) and another learners’ utterance in line 14. She continued her appeals for clarification in lines 24, 26, and 30—positioning her as an agentic learner, one who is willing to continue initiating interactions and negotiating with the teacher until her confusion (line 26) is cleared up or until the teacher moves on (line 31). Similar to Hla and Learner A above, in these interactions Sadia also positioned herself as a self-aware learner: she knew what she did not know (i.e., why there is no “sh” to represent /ʃ/ in “nation”), and was aware of and could name how she felt about the discrepancy in language patterns she had previously learned: “me confused for me” (line 26).

4.2.1.1.3 “Teachers’ Day.” A third example came from the end of January. In preparation for the visit from the firefighters (described above in “Creating texts”), the class was discussing what to do in case of various kinds of emergencies. Joy advised the learners to guard their purses when they are out walking and shopping. The next turn, initiated by Sadia (line 1), was an appeal for assistance that simultaneously marked a change in theme.

		Theme
1	Sadia: uh teacher America one day President Day one day Valentine Day one day of Teacher Day?	Teachers’ Day
2	Joy: Teacher Day? aww::: I think so that's so sweet. I don't know the date because we still have school.	“
3	Nicole: let me look it up.	“
4	Joy: if we had no school I would know the day. (laughs and Ss laugh)	“
5	Sadia: cuz we stay home	“
6	Joy: ye::s	“
7	Yaw Shen: <u>Monday</u> <u>Wednesday</u> <u>Friday</u> <u>Teacher Day</u>	“

8	Joy: every day is teacher day that's good (Ss and Joy laughing)	“
9	Nicole: May fifth Tuesday May fifth	“
10	Joy: May fifth should I write it on our calendar?	“
11	Ss(uniden): yes	“
12	Joy: oh it's already there (laughing)	“
13	the next day is national Nurses' Day.	Nurses' Day
14	my sister is a nurse.	Joy's sister
15	Abuk: how many sister have?	“
16	Joy: I have one sister.	“
17	Aster: nurse?	“
18	Joy: yes	“
19	Sadia: May five?	Teachers' Day
20	Joy: yes May fifth	“
21	Ss (uniden): no school?	“
22	Joy: there's school. maybe we'll have a party (laughing)	“

(audio recording, January 21, 2015)

This interaction was unusual in that it involved learners speaking outside of teacher-initiated IRF sequences six times in this excerpt (lines 1, 7, 14, 16, 18, 20), of which two occasions involved changes in theme. First, Sadia took the floor to initiate a theme that was unrelated to the previous ten minutes of classroom interaction (line 1): Does the U.S. have a Teachers' Day celebration? Joy appeared touched by this suggestion (line 2) and I offered to look up the answer (line 3). Joy remarked that she would know the date if school was out (lines 2 and 4), which Sadia interpreted in line 5 (“cuz we stay home”), and Joy affirmed (line 6).

In the next line (line 7), Chriki joined in negotiating the theme, taking the floor to joke that every day she and her classmates came to class was Teachers' Day, which Joy and the other learners found humorous (line 8). After I found the date for U.S. Teachers' Day (line 9), Joy asked the class if she should write it on the calendar (line 10), introducing a new theme: the

calendar which, as described above, was central to classroom discourse and literacy practice.

When she found the date on the calendar, she realized Teachers' Day was already marked there and that the next day was a day to honor nurses (line 13), which is her sister's profession (line 14). This introduced yet two more themes.

The remaining eight lines of interaction took the form of "initiation-response" four times over, with learners positioning *themselves* as initiators and *Joy* as responder in each case. In the next line, then, Abuk initiated by asking Joy how many sisters she has (line 15), to which Joy responded that she has one (line 16). Aster then asked if Joy's sister was a nurse (line 17), and Joy responded "yes" (line 18). Next, Sadia took the floor to return to the theme she had initiated at the beginning of this interactional sequence, confirming that the date for Teachers' Day is May fifth (line 19), which Joy affirmed (line 20). An unidentified learner asked if school will be out (line 21), which Joy denied (line 22), but suggested there was a possibility for a party (line 22).

In these interactions, learners positioned themselves as initiators of new classroom themes (line 1), as jokester (line 7), and as good students (lines 1, 7, 19, and 21). They also positioned themselves outside of teacher-student dichotomies, as I will describe below (lines 15 and 17). Specifically, as Sadia initiated the theme of a holiday to honor teachers (line 1), she also positioned herself as a good student—one who is concerned with honoring the teacher. The introduction to her question sheds light on the intertextual connections she was making, i.e., "one day President Day one day Valentine Day one day of Teacher Day?" In other words, her knowledge about other U.S. Holidays—developed at least in part during class celebrations and discussions surrounding those holidays—served as a resource for her to ask about a new holiday. Additionally, as in the previous example, Sadia also positioned herself as agentic in this excerpt:

She was the only student whom my recording devices captured initiating a theme of interest that was not related to the interactions immediately prior.

Yaw Shen's contribution to the discourse and theme of Teachers' Day in line 7 positioned her as a jokester. Crafting a joke that others find humorous can be quite difficult, and even more so when attempted in the moment (i.e., with minimal planning) and in an L2. Successful spontaneous joke-telling requires complex linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic knowledge, and can be challenging for even advanced L2 learners (Bell, 2005); it can require understanding the theme at hand (i.e., holidays that celebrate a specific profession), awareness of audience, and familiarity of the pragmatics surrounding when it is possible to take the floor, at minimum. Yaw Shen's successful execution of that knowledge was "socially meaningful" (Majid Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 44), as evidenced by Joy's and the other students' laughter; this further positioned Yaw Shen as a legitimate English speaker. Additionally, Yaw Shen's joke was not off-topic or disruptive; rather, the joke was a means to participate in the ongoing discursive construction of the class theme, which is one of the duties of students in storylines of formal schooling. In this way, Yaw Shen's joke also positioned her as a good student.

Abuk's and Aster's initiations (in lines 15 and 17 respectively) center on Joy's personal life, specifically, how many sisters she had and her sister's profession. I interpret their questions as a desire for personal connection with the teacher (Mary Gillespie, 2005), something that Joy welcomed. Nonetheless, in traditional storylines of formal schooling in the U.S., power differentials between teachers and students do not generally afford students the right to use class time to ask teachers about their families or personal lives. In this excerpt, however, the learners positioned themselves outside of a traditional teacher-student dichotomy, perhaps as women who would like to get to know one another better or simply as competent conversationalists if the

setting had been different (e.g., women sharing a meal or coffee). Abuk and Aster may have felt it was acceptable to ask their questions due to Joy initiating the theme of her sister (line 14), or to learners' similarity in age to Joy, or to learners' prior experiences with Joy's openness surrounding her personal life (e.g., inviting learners to her home at Christmas, sharing with learners when her mother was sick), or to cultural differences surrounding expectations of teacher-student interaction, or to something else. Regardless of their origins, these questions serve as a counter-example to the others in this section: Aster's and Abuk's questions disrupted, rather than reinforced, a traditional teacher-student dichotomy.

Finally, Sadia's and an unidentified learner's initiations (lines 19 and 21) were appeals for assistance from Joy, specifically for her to serve as mediating means surrounding their knowledge about what to expect on Teachers' Day in the United States (i.e., when is it and is school out?). This positioned the learners as good students; that is, not only were the learners *participants* in valued "patterns of interaction" (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2) surrounding the calendar, they were *initiators* of such practices (i.e., tracking appointments and special occasions in writing).

4.2.1.1.4 Making sense of student positioning through turn-taking. In these excerpts, learners' turn-taking consisted of speaking outside of teacher-led IRF sequences, frequently for the purpose of making appeals for assistance, though not in every case. Learners' turn-taking shed light on their awareness of discursive shifts in theme; their engagement with those themes; their agency during teacher-led classroom activities; and their desires for more personal connection with their teacher. For instance, learners repeatedly contributed to "patterns of interaction" (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2) that served to construct thematic coherence in classroom discourse, whether purposefully (i.e., joke telling) or not (i.e., repeating a new word

introduced by Joy). Regardless of learners' intentions in negotiating thematic coherence, their turns positioned them as agentic and linguistically/pragmatically aware: in each case, they not only followed the discourse markers that indexed thematic shifts, they took the floor to engage with those new themes, even if only briefly.

Some learners' turns were overt appeals for assistance that accomplished various aims, such as introducing a new theme to classroom discourse (i.e., Teachers' Day), opening up negotiations for understanding (i.e., representations of /f/ in English writing), and garnering one-on-one support from Joy during a whole-class activity (i.e., Aisa asking where she could find "signs" in the text). As above, these appeals positioned the learners as agentic and engaged classroom participants. For example, Aisa's successful appeal for one-on-one assistance from Joy specifically demonstrated her awareness surrounding her challenges with the task in the moment (i.e., she did not know where to look on the page), and her desire to participate fully in the class activity. Specifically, she obtained the support she needed by asking for assistance three times, once using the teacher's name. On the other hand, Sadia demonstrated her engagement with course content through proposing intertextual connections: other U.S. holidays and the possibility of Teachers' Day, and past experiences with sound-symbol correlations to understand new grapheme-morpheme pairs.

In all of the above examples, learners positioned themselves within storylines of formal schooling as "good students," that is, as learners who demonstrate engagement with course content and eagerness to learn. In considering this finding, it is important to remember that speaking during class (in this case, outside of teacher-initiated IRF sequences during whole-class activities) does not always index a "good student" subject position. For instance, Wortham (2004) showed how one African-American female high school student's contributions to class

discussions were viewed differently from the beginning to the end of the school year, shifting her positioning from “typical girl to disruptive outcast” (p. 171). Nor does remaining silent necessarily signal that a learner is *not* engaged, eager, or agentic, since silence is “polysemous” (Acheson, 2007, p. 3), and multivalent (p. 7). This may be particularly true in L2 classrooms as “norms for silence and talk may vary according to...race, cultur[e], class, and gender, and within and across those categories” (Schultz, 2009, p. 80, referencing the work of Ladson-Billings [1996]).

Finally, it is important to recall the counter-case presented above, in which learners’ appeals for assistance positioned them, as well as Joy, outside of a teacher-student dichotomy as learners asked about Joy’s sister. I understand this as a request for dialogue and personal connection, both of which align with tenets of humanistic pedagogies (Gillespie, 2005), discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.2.1.2 *Cross-cultural experts.* As learners in Joy’s classroom took turns outside of teacher-initiated IRF sequences, they also made connections and comparisons across time and space, that is, between class content and their own experiences (real or imagined), prior knowledge, and relationships. These connections and comparisons primarily took the form of intertextual and intercontextual links (Bloome, et. al, 2006), and positioned the women as experts about “home.” The women also interactively positioned me and Joy as experts about variation in cultural practices surrounding oppression in the U.S.

4.2.1.2.1 “*My country the same thing.*” One example of making comparisons between countries comes from data collected in early February. Joy was again teaching from *Citizenship: Passing the Test* (Weintraub, 2009), and learners’ books were open to a page featuring a half-page black and white image at the top: African-American adults working in cotton fields and

wearing 1800s-era clothing. The bottom half of the page contained three short texts: three simple sentences explaining the image, one gloss (i.e., “WHAT DOES IT MEAN: slavery = owning slaves”), and spelling practice (i.e., “SPELLING: North _____”) (Weintraub, 2009, p. 72). (Note that the activity called “spelling practice” provided practice in copying, not spelling per se.) Just prior to this excerpt, Joy drew learners’ attention to the image at the top of the page and pointed out that the people working in the fields were slaves.

		Theme
1	Joy: slaves had to work work work all the time and they couldn't leave if they wanted to.	working conditions for slaves in U.S. in 1800's
2	Nicole: and no money.	“
3	Joy: and no money.	“
4	Students (several at once): ooh::::	“
5	Joy: work for me? but I don't give you money. yeah and maybe a little just a little food. not good food. okay so this [happened in	“
6	Chriki: [Black people? only Black people?	racial identities of slaves in U.S. in 1800's
7	Joy: yeah mostly Black people. maybe a few poor White people but mostly Black people.	“
8	<u>not</u> goo:d. so I'm sorry that this is American history. this is no:t goo:d. yeah.	judgement of slavery
9	Chriki: in my country the same thing.	slavery in Burundi
10	Joy: in your country the same?	“
11	yeah it's not good we cannot treat people like this.	judgement of slavery

(audio recording, February 4, 2015)

In line 1, Joy explained that slaves worked a lot and slaveowners did not allow them to leave; I expanded on Joy’s explanation (line 2), which she subsequently repeated (line 3). In line 4, several students responded to this explanation, but it is unclear if they were expressing surprise, understanding, or something else. Joy continued her explanation in line 5, but was

interrupted by Chriki in line 6, requesting clarification of the racial identities of slaves in the U.S., presumably during the era and geographical region presented in the book, i.e., during the 1800s in the U.S., cotton was grown primarily in the Southeast. Joy explained that, yes, most slaves in the U.S. at that time were Black (line 7) and then offered a negative judgement of slavery (line 8). In the next line, Chriki commented that the same conditions were (or are) in place in her home country (line 9). Joy repeated Chriki's comment as a question (line 10), perhaps to confirm that she had heard correctly, and then delivered another negative judgement of slavery (line 11).

The focus of my analysis here is Chriki's speech, which fell outside of teacher-initiated IRF sequences: her question in line 6 and her comment in line 9. At first blush, Chriki's question in line 6 is perhaps unsurprising considering the picture presented in the book, and also because Joy had been teaching for several weeks about institutionalized segregation in the U.S. However, Chriki's comment in line 9 revealed that her home country also practiced slavery, either currently or in the past. Although the timeframe of her statement is unclear, Chriki's reported home country was Burundi, in which slavery has been practiced and which continues to be a site for human trafficking and forced labor; particularly at risk are children, women, and the over 25,000 internally displaced people who fled their communities during political and economic crises that unfolded in Burundi during data collection for this study (U.S. Department of State, 2016). In this excerpt, then, Chriki proposed an intercontextual connection between the U.S. and her home country—specifically, in both countries, powerful groups take up (and/or have taken up) the practice of enslaving others. This intercontextual connection was “socially meaningful” (Majid Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 44), as evidenced by Joy taking it up in the following turn.

As in an excerpt described below (i.e., “Only Georgia or all America?”), Chriki’s intercontextual connection was relationally-specific. In this case, she was connecting U.S. events to those she had experienced. Similar to Sadia’s question in the previous subsection, Chriki’s first question introduced a new theme, which positioned her as a class member with the right to interrupt and shape classroom discourse—a right traditionally reserved for teachers, at least in traditional U.S. storylines of formal, school-based learning. Her question also positioned her as a woman who is cognizant of systemic racial and social injustices. That is, she was aware that, in some countries and regions, forced labor and other forms of oppression are disproportionately forced upon the racial group with which she identifies. Although she reported that slavery exists (or existed) in Burundi, it is unknown whether she or anyone in her family experienced this first-hand. Regardless, Chriki’s intercontextual connection served to position her and her home country *within* the ongoing classroom and textbook discourse surrounding civil rights and social justice. This is notable for any learner, but particularly for learners like Chriki who had never previously attended formal schooling.

Additionally, in line 9, Chriki referenced Burundi as “my country” (line 9), making a connection between herself and Burundi. This positioned her as a Burundi expert and insider, which was ratified by Joy in the following turn, as Joy confirmed with Chriki the country-specific information she had provided. Chriki’s use of the term “my country” for Burundi simultaneously brings into question her social positioning in the U.S.: Did she perceive herself as an insider, outsider, or something else in the United States? How might her self-identifications shift, depending on her location or interlocutors? Would she call the U.S. “my new country,” “not my country,” or something else? Unfortunately, the answers to those

questions remain unanswered here, as at the time of data analysis and write-up, Chriki was no longer available to participate in member checking.

Finally, Chriki's proposal of an intercontextual connection in line 9 ("in my country the same thing") also served to make cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons, something her classmates also did as they interrupted teacher-initiated IRF sequences, as the next excerpt shows.

4.2.1.2.2 *"My country not like that."* A second example of learners speaking outside of IRF sequences to make cross-country comparisons occurred during the class celebration of Valentine's Day. Joy had put aside U.S. history and civil rights content for the day and centered the whole class session on the theme of love. Activities included passing out Valentine's candy hearts and learning the typical Valentine's phrases they contained, such as, "be mine," "true love," "xoxoxo." The penultimate activity of the day was creating Valentine's Day cards for the recipient of one's choice, using the items Joy had bought at a discount dollar store or gathered from her home and REC's supply room: magazines, yarn, Valentine's themed stickers, glue sticks, construction paper, scissors that cut unusual lines (e.g., lace-shaped edging), regular scissors, and markers. Joy encouraged learners to look in the magazines for images that reminded them of love and of the typical Valentine's phrases they had learned earlier, then cut and paste those into their cards. During the following excerpt, learners were working independently at their tables to create their cards, as Joy circulated and commented on their work. Immediately prior to the first turn below, Joy was standing in front of Lamiya, paging through a magazine.

		Theme
1	Joy: let's see. oh my <u>word</u> . do you see these words "I do?" (holding up picture from magazine) so this is	historically traditional U.S. wedding practices
2	yeah that's good it's very good (responding to a learner showing her a different picture)	"
3	um but every time when somebody gets married? in America? often they ask "do you promise to: love each other forever?" and they say "I do."	"
4	Daw Ngai Pai: [I do	"
5	Joy: [so these words. "I do." very special. "I do." (laughing)	"
6	Daw Ngai Pai: I do. (laughing)	"
7	(Joy and Ss laughing. Lamiya picks up the magazine and begins cutting out the words "I do.")	"
8	Joy: Yeah good (dropping intonation)	"
9	Abuk: so do who ask you?	"
10	Joy: huh?	"
11	Abuk: who ask you this?	"
12	Joy: nobody asks me this.	"
13	Abuk: no who who [asks this do you love forever	"
14	Joy: [oh oh	"
15	Nicole: the pastor	"
16	Joy: the pastor [who's--	"
17	Abuk: [you say yes?	"
18	Joy: yeah you have to say yes or they will say (lowers voice) "you can't marry"	"
19	Abuk: (laughing) my country not like that	cultural comparison
20	Joy: mhm mhm.	"
21	(5 second pause)	
22	Joy: what is it like in your country for marriage?	South Sudanese marriage practices in Abuk's village
23	Abuk: (inaud.)	
24	Joy: like what?	"

25	Abuk: (inaud) very you don't know. a lotta cow. hundred cow.	“
26	Nicole: [a hundred cows.	“
27	Joy: [hundred cows? for you?	“
28	Abuk: [mmm yeah.	“
29	Joy and other Ss: oh::: wow:::	“
30	Joy: (laughing) that was a <u>lot</u> of cows. (squeals)	“
31	(Ss and Joy laughing)	“
32	Abuk: (laughing) yeah yeah. my country (inaud) say “bring a hundred cow your family. go.”	“
33	Joy: uh-huh	“
34	Abuk: tell (inaud.) say I want come back. he say “no because the cows there.” my husband say “bring back bring back my cows.” my family say “no sit down you're home sit there.” I cried yeah.	“
35	Joy: wow:: oh:::	“

(audio recording and field notes, February 13, 2015)

In what follows, I analyze lines 1-20 and provide an interpretation of the social positioning in those lines; then I turn to lines 21 through the end of the transcript. In lines 1 through 6, Joy introduced and explained the U.S. cultural practice of couples saying “I do” during weddings, voicing both wedding officiant and the individual members of a couple (line 3). Daw Ngai Pai repeated the “very special” phrase “I do” in lines 4 and 6. Joy’s feedback in line 8 (“yeah. good.”) and dropping intonation on both of the words signaled the end of her introduction to this phrase and cultural practice. Additionally, Lamiya’s act of cutting out the words “I do” to paste into her own Valentine’s card rendered the words and magazine less available for Joy to use in instruction.

However, in line 11, Abuk initiated further conversation surrounding U.S. wedding ceremonies, inquiring: Who asks couples to verbally state their commitments to one another? Joy initially did not hear (line 10) and then misunderstood (line 12) Abuk’s question, prompting

Abuk to restate it twice (lines 11 and 13). As I was sitting next to Abuk and could hear her question more easily, I provided an overly simplistic and hegemonic response (line 16; i.e., protestant officiants and wedding ceremonies as representative of all potential types of wedding officiants and ceremonies). Joy took up my response (line 16), but Abuk interrupted her, probing further whether the people being married say “yes” when asked if they will commit to one another (line 17). Joy’s response in line 18 (“you have to say yes or they will say ‘you can’t marry’”) communicated an assumption that two people who go through a wedding ceremony actually desire to marry one another, that is, they are asking permission to marry from an officiant who has the right to approve or deny their request. Discussion surrounding U.S. wedding customs closed with Abuk proposing an intercontextual connection via cultural comparison, “My country not like that,” in line 19, and Joy’s response in line 20, “Mhm mhm.”

In analyzing lines 1 through 20, my focus is on Abuk’s speech in lines 11 and 19. Zeroing in on “rights and duties” from social positioning theories (Davies & Harré, 1990), Abuk’s two main questions in lines 11 and 19 might be restated as: Who has the right to ask the members of a couple if they commit to one another (and thus the responsibility of officiating wedding ceremonies in the U.S.)? And do the members of a couple have the right to answer honestly when asked if they commit to one another? In other words, her questions serve not only to illuminate cultural practices, but to shed light specifically on individuals’ rights and duties within those practices. In line 19, Abuk’s proposed intercontextual connection (i.e., the cultural comparison, “my country not like that”)—uttered outside of a teacher-initiated IRF sequence—foreshadowed some of the potential roots of her curiosity. Those roots became clearer in the remainder of the excerpt as she shared that her duties were enforced while her rights were constrained when she became married in South Sudan.

In line 22, Joy requested more information about wedding customs in South Sudan, which served to ratify Abuk's proposed intercontextual connection. Abuk did not immediately answer the question, but stated that she expected her story to be unfamiliar to Joy ("you don't know," line 25). Based on Joy's responses (lines 27, 29, 30, 35), Abuk was correct. In this way, Abuk positioned *herself* as a cultural insider and *Joy* as a cultural outsider vis-a-vis South Sudanese marriage practices. In doing so, she overtly demonstrated knowledge of her audience—specifically, her audience's lack of awareness of storylines, rights, and duties surrounding marriage in South Sudan and in her village specifically. Nonetheless, Abuk continued, "a lotta cow. hundred cow"; that is, her husband paid her family a bride price of 100 cows to have her as a wife (lines 25 and 32). Joy and the other students expressed surprise and laughed (lines 29 through 31).

Abuk continued her story in line 34: She wanted to return to her family of origin, but one of her male family members did not allow her to ("he say 'no...'"), as the exchange of cows for bride had already been made ("...because the cows there,""). It appeared that Abuk's husband either knew she was distressed ("I cried") and/or may have been unhappy with the arrangement himself, because he asked Abuk's family to return the cows ("my husband say "bring back my cows"), presumably in exchange for Abuk. Nevertheless, Abuk's family insisted that her home was now with her husband ("...sit down you're home") and did not permit her to return. This excerpt concluded in line 35 with Joy's response, "wow::: oh:::"

In line 34, Abuk voiced, in turn, herself, a male family member, her husband, and her family. That is, in four voicings in this portion of her wedding story, Abuk, as the new wife, had just one: a request to return to her parents' home. Her voicings further show the rights afforded to the subject positions of "man" and "family" in this story, specifically, the right to choose for

Abuk who her husband was and the right to own and exchange property for daughter/sister, i.e., cows for bride and vice versa. In these voicings, Abuk did not have rights, but rather duties to both her husband and her family. Namely, she had the duty to stay with her husband for two reasons: first, because he had already paid for her, and second, so that her family could keep the cows.

In addition to the positionings mentioned above, in this excerpt, Abuk positioned herself as a legitimate cultural expert and educator of her teacher and classmates. In line 25, when Abuk responded to Joy with, “you don’t know,” she had the option to stop her story right there, to provide only broad brushstrokes, or to speak in generalities rather than from her experience. Instead, she chose to educate Joy and her classmates by sharing a specific and quite personal example—in a sense, a short case study—which added legitimacy to the cultural information she relayed. Overall, Abuk’s story served to disrupt the storyline of marriage based on romantic love that had been presented by Joy up until that point during class. This served to render the content of class more culturally meaningful for Abuk that day.

4.2.1.2.3 *“Only Georgia or all America?”* A third example in this category consisted of appeals for assistance in order to make comparisons within one country (i.e., the U.S.), rather than comparisons across countries, as in the previous two examples. In this case, the women’s appeals for assistance did not position them as cross-cultural experts per se, but rather as women attuned to and curious about possible variation in cultural practices between states (or regions) in the U.S., as these practices pertained to people they knew, specifically.

The following occurred early during spring semester (January 21, 2015), as Joy taught about the March on Washington, which occurred on August 28, 1963 and was one important

catalyst for the Civil Rights Act in the following year. To provide context for the march, Joy began describing pre-1960's social and political conditions surrounding race in the U.S.

		Theme
1	Joy: it is like this in 1950. my parents were born in 1952. so when they were born? this is the way the schools were. when they were little. the schools were like this. Black people here and White people here (motions to opposite sides of room with arms).	1950's era legalized school segregation
2	what about voting. do you know the word vote? vote? "who will be president let's vote?" "I say Obama" "I say not Obama" okay? "we will vote?" can the Black people vote?	race-based voter suppression
3	Aisa: no?	
4	Joy: in Georgia they went said "oh no we don't want you to vote"	race-based voter suppression in GA, where REC is located
5	Aisa: yeah	"
6	Joy: is this a [good	"
7	Sadia: [only Georgia or all America?	broader geographical delimitations of race-based injustice
8	Joy: in the south so like Georgia South Carolina Alabama Mississippi Louisiana really this part (pointing to Southeast U.S. on world map) was really they had it wasn't it wasn't like the United States law for all of America? it was Georgia says this and South Carolina says this and Louisiana says this and Mississippi says this	"
9	Ss (uniden): oh	"
10	(Ss speaking inaud.)	"
11	Joy: yeah so	"
12	Ss (uniden): (name of Joy's home state)?	specific state #1
13	Joy: (name of joy's home state)? no.	"
14	Ss (uniden): Minnesota?	specific state #2
15	Joy: Minnesota? Nicole?	"
16	Nicole: there was no legalized segregation there in the 1950's	"
17	Joy: not in (name of Joy's home state)	specific state #1

(audio recording, January 21, 2015)

In lines 1 and 2, Joy began by describing some of the social conditions that contributed to the need for protests and large-scale demonstrations such as the March on Washington: in particular, legalized school segregation and Whites' suppression of Black voters' rights. She pointed out that her parents were children during the time period in question, and ended by asking, "can the Black people vote?" Aisa responded with her own question (i.e., "no?", line 2), and Joy continued, explaining that in the U.S. state where the classroom was located, Georgia, many Whites in power did not want members of Black communities to vote (line 4). Aisa responded "yeah" (line 5). In the next line, Joy began to ask the class if suppressing voters' rights is good (line 6), but she was interrupted by Sadia (line 7) asking whether the Whites in power oppressed members of Black communities throughout the United States or only in Georgia—the state Joy named in line 4 and also the only state in which Sadia had lived during her time in the U.S. Sadia may also have been asking specifically about voters' rights, as well; her question does not specify.

Joy's clarification of federal vs. state authority in line 8 appeared to address oppression more broadly (not necessarily voters' rights specifically). Joy's explanation also sparked more curiosity, and learners asked for clarification in lines 12 and 14: specifically, had the injustices in Georgia in the 1950's also been in place in Joy's and my home states during that time? Our answers were overly simplistic: I limited my response to legalized segregation (line 16), and Joy simply said no (lines 13 and 17).

The focus of my analysis centers on learners' speech in lines 7, 12, and 14; each instance represents a learner initiating a classroom interaction. First, Sadia's question in line 7 not only interrupted Joy mid-utterance, but also introduced a new theme to classroom discourse: the broader geographical delimitations of the race-based injustices described by Joy. It is unknown

whether Sadia's question arose because she is aware that different laws and practices are in place in different U.S. states, or because Joy specified "Georgia" in line 4 (which Joy did perhaps to provide information regarding where learners lived at the time of data collection), or for a different reason. Regardless, after Joy responded to Sadia's question, an unidentified learner (or learners) asked about racial injustice in Joy's home state and my home state. Their desire to discern the geographical delimitations of historical race-based injustices in the U.S. not only built on Sadia's original question, but it was also geographically and relationally specific. Further, it served to make connections between particular people and particular spaces that carry particular histories: Joy's home state and its history vis-à-vis Joy, Minnesota and its history vis-a-vis Nicole, and Georgia and its history vis-à-vis learners themselves. In a sense, the learners were perhaps asking: In the history of U.S. racial injustices Joy is describing, where do *you* fit? What is the history where *you're* from and how is it similar to or different from where *we* now live? In asking this, the learners also proposed intercontextual connections between practices of racial injustice in Georgia and those in Minnesota and Joy's home state. These intercontextual connections were ratified by Joy and me in our responses (lines 13, 16-17).

In this excerpt, learners positioned themselves as mediators of learning in two important ways. First, they introduced a new theme (or expanded upon an existing one), which served to steer the content of classroom discourse, which is traditionally the right of teachers. Second, as they did so, they co-constructed intercontextual connections that made the content more relevant by relating it to places they already knew about through their relationships with Joy and me. Generally, in current storylines of formal schooling in the U.S., it is the responsibility of teachers to help learners make connections between prior knowledge/experiences and new content and/or to help learners build background knowledge prior to engaging with new content. In this case,

learners took up the responsibility of building background knowledge, focusing specifically on spaces to which they had personal connections via Joy and me.

Further, in lines 12 and 14, learners interactively positioned me and Joy as experts on (or, minimally, knowledgeable about) the history of race-based injustice in our home states. Our responses demonstrated we are not experts in this area: We both glossed over the more complex racial histories of our home states, even if state-level racial policies in the 1950's and prior differed in important ways across the U.S.

4.2.1.2.4 *Making sense of cross-cultural expert positioning.* In the above data, learners made intercontextual connections between and within countries, demonstrating they were sensitive to and curious about cultural variation. These connections spanned both time and space—e.g., now versus then; U.S./Burundi, U.S./South Sudan, and Georgia/Minnesota/Joy's home state—and demonstrated their awareness of similarities and variation in systemic race- and gender-based injustices across these boundaries. Further, these connections were specific to the people in the classroom, potentially strengthening their relationship ties. For instance, when a learner asked about Joy's and my home states, she learned more about the history of where we're from, and by extension more about us. Telling the story of getting married, likewise, is at least a somewhat vulnerable act with the potential to create stronger relationship ties with those listening. In the case of Aisa, simply saying that "X was similar in my home country" established common ground; in spite of the current and historical differences between the U.S. and Burundi, Aisa pointed to slivers of common ground. In both of these examples, learners referred to their home countries as "my country," expressing ownership, expertise, and potentially a sense of belonging.

In terms of social positioning, intercontextual connections and concomitant discourse moves such as the above have the potential to disrupt the power inherent in teacher/student binaries (i.e., the “rights and duties” of these subject positions; Harré and Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5) and position everyone involved in such interactions differently. For instance, in the first two cases (“my country same thing”; “my country not like that”) learners positioned themselves as cultural experts, that is, legitimate sharers of prior knowledge about their countries. In essence, the learners were expressing the notion that being from a place makes someone an expert on that place, an idea that repeated in their requests for information about Joy’s and my home states.

Finally, the learners’ intercontextual connections served to render the content of the classroom more relevant by relating it to people and places with which they already had connections. These connections served as a means to build their own and others’ background knowledge, and perhaps permitted them and others to engage with classroom content more meaningfully.

4.2.2 Social positioning and mobile technology use.

The following section describes the ways the learners in Joy’s classroom positioned themselves as they used their mobile phones and the school’s e-tablets to engage in academic and non-academic tasks. At the outset of this study, I did not intend to examine mobile technology use. However, the use of mobile technologies (particularly cell phones) by students took place every day, multiple times per day. The ubiquitousness of mobile technology use, then, led me to the present analysis. The data show that the women’s use of mobile devices—unprompted by Joy—entailed making and proposing intertextual and intercontextual links, which served to position them as academically resourceful transnational women who interact across national boundaries (i.e., U.S. and other countries) as well as across cultural boundaries within

the U.S. (e.g., Burmese and South Sudanese). I will also present two counter examples to the acceptability and ubiquitousness of mobile technology use in Joy's classroom: one case of learner resistance and one event that demonstrates how out-of-class access to mobile phones is sometimes gendered which, in turn, can limit women's access to these devices in class.

4.2.2.1 *Mobile devices and academic positioning.* This subsection focuses on the ways learners took up the use of mobile devices—unprompted by their teacher—to carry out academic tasks assigned or valued by Joy. Here, I define “academic tasks” broadly. For example, I understand copying a text from the board, taking a spelling test, and calling in sick to school all as academic tasks in that they involve successfully participating in “patterns of interaction that tend to unfold in...(the) social arena” of schools” (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2), and thus evoke a student subject positioning.

4.2.2.1.1 *Photographing class texts.* A particularly common practice was using phones to photograph texts Joy had written on the white board or on butcher paper. As described above in this chapter, one of the learners' first tasks each day was to copy the Morning Message into their notebooks and, at other points throughout each class, various other texts as well (e.g., word lists, LEA texts, dialogues). Taking photographs supported learners in copying texts in at least three circumstances. First, as learners copied texts from the large whiteboard into their notebooks, they sometimes struggled to see the board. The glare from the curtainless windows was occasionally strong and impeded learners' view (audio recording, November 3, 2014), and some learners needed glasses or forgot their glasses at home (interview with Joy, December 11, 2014). Photographing the texts, which were located anywhere from three feet or more away, allowed learners to position those texts physically closer to their own notebooks and bodies to see them more easily.

An example of the above comes from Monday, December 8, 2014, when Joy engaged the learners in making party invitations for women in the other classes to come to an end-of-semester party in their classroom later that week. Similar to other writing processes in Joy's classroom (described earlier in this chapter), the activity began with Joy writing an invitation on the board, engaging learners in choral reading of the invitation, and learners creating rough draft invitations by copying from the board into their notebooks (audio recording and field notes, December 8, 2014). The image below shows Adwa and Aisa, frequent table mates, photographing the party invitation as written by Joy on the white board for the purpose of copying it down into their notebooks.

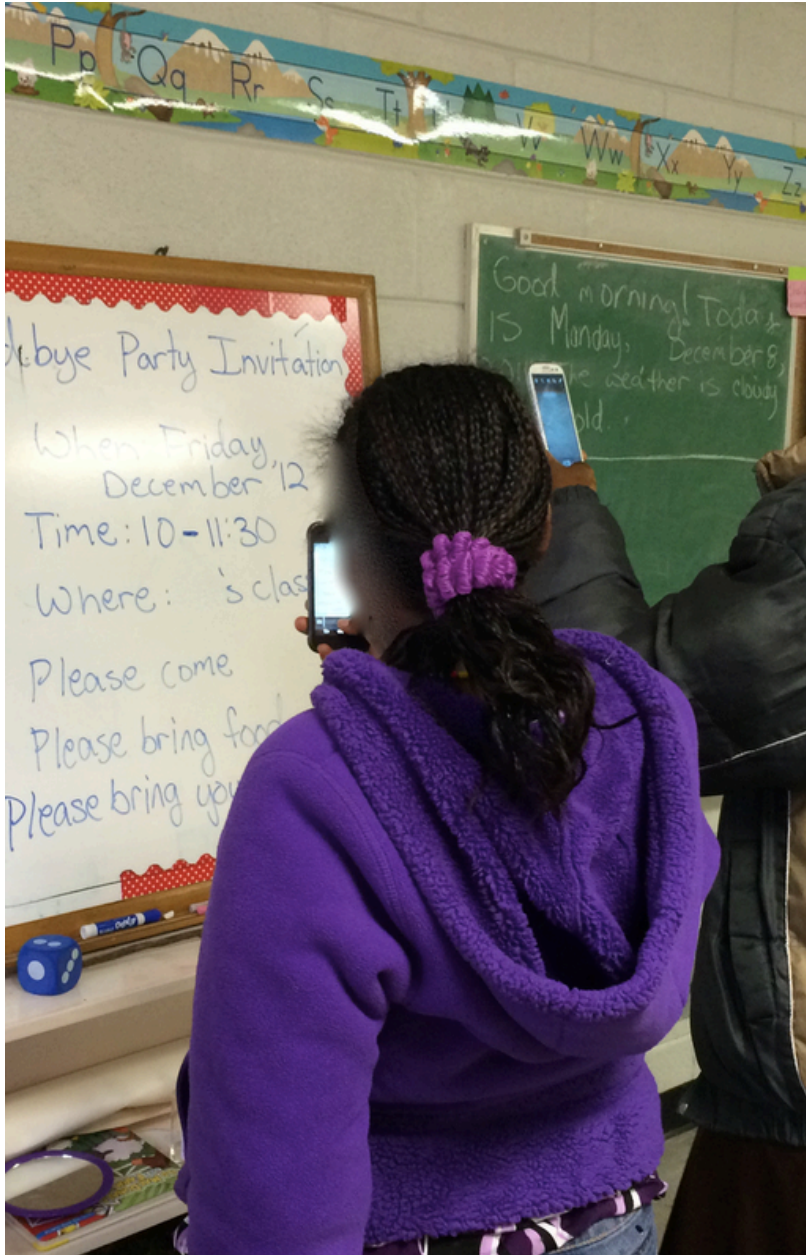


Figure 20. Adwa and Aisa, frequent table mates, photographing the party invitation

Second, several women regularly used the zoom function on their phones to increase the size of the writing in the photographed text. This aided those women who, as described above, needed vision support, as well as those who were emergent readers. That is, some women appeared to use the zoom to focus more easily on the details of shape, sizing, and spacing of

letters; there was occasional confusion regarding which letter was which, e.g., if the dot on top of an “i” was too close, was it a lower-case “L”? For instance, Aisa once got up and took a picture of the text Joy had written on the whiteboard after repeated attempts to decipher the more minute details of letters (i.e., “t” vs. “i,” “y” vs. “j”) (field notes, December 8, 2014). The image below shows Hla copying the party invitation into her notebook after photographing the invitation as Adwa and Aisa had done (above) and blowing it up with the zoom function on her phone.

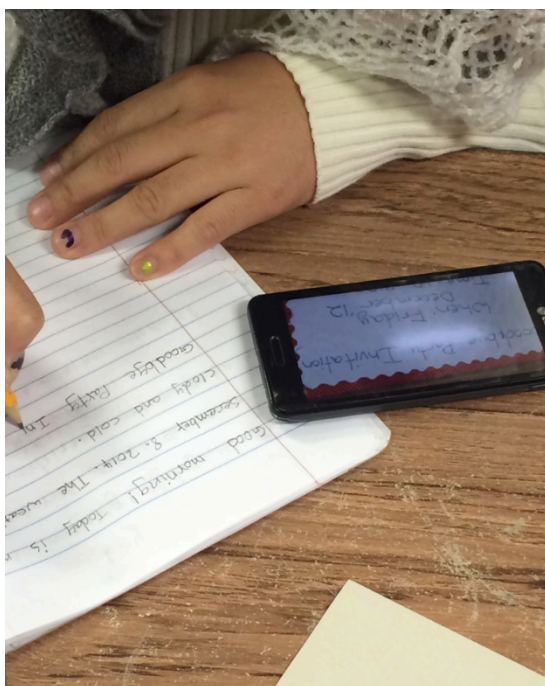


Figure 21. Hla utilizing mobile phone to copy holiday invitation.

Third, learners photographed texts on the white board when Joy had not built in time to copy the texts; this was most common when the texts involved carrying out at a later date academic tasks unrelated to class content, such as reminders to bring in documentation necessary to complete their registration at REC, or information from their children’s schools. For instance, at the beginning of the school year, Joy taught the learners how to call in sick to school (audio recording, field notes, October 15, 2014). This took place at the end of class, with few minutes

remaining. The image below shows Hla taking a photograph of the language needed to do this—with Halima and Adwa writing down the language in their notebooks. It is unclear if Daw Ngai Pai (hidden behind Hla) is writing or photographing. The metadata on this photograph shows that it was taken at 12:03 p.m., immediately after that Wednesday's assembly for REC's adult learners, a time when the women were supposed to have already picked up their children from the early childhood staff downstairs, so those staff could leave school, some for other jobs.

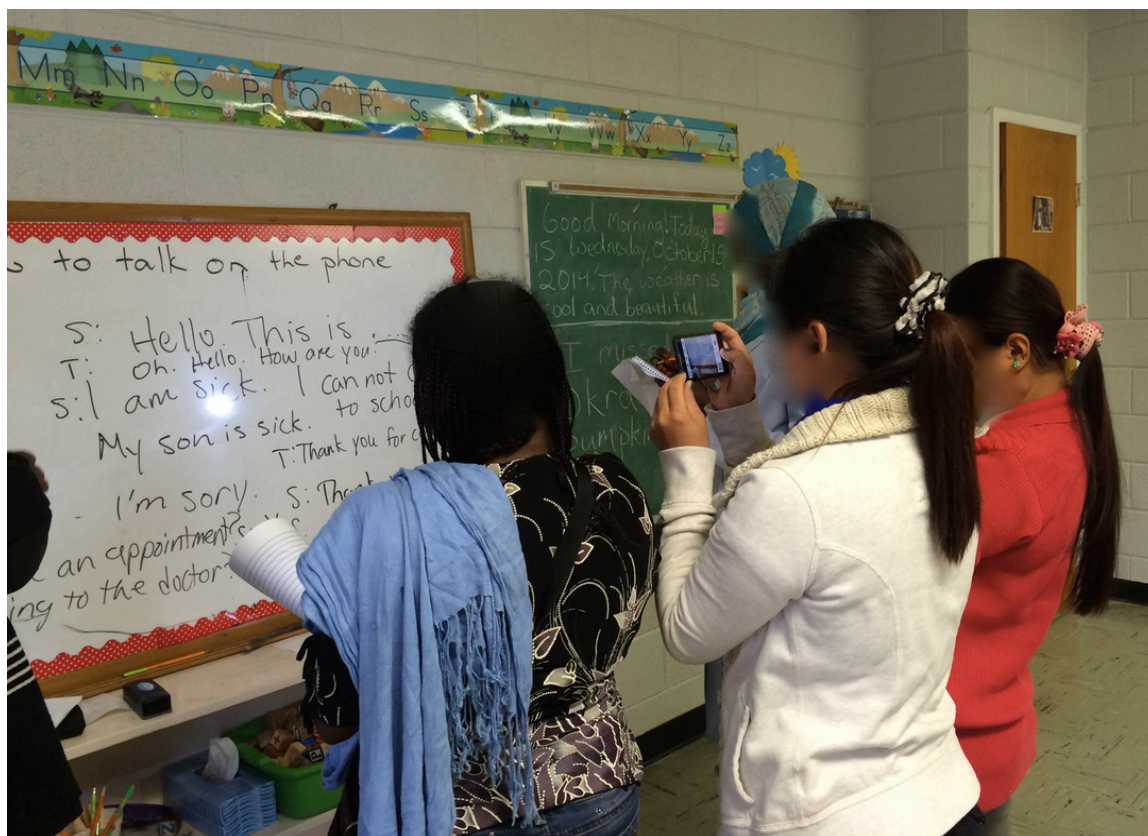


Figure 22. Learners photographing and writing down language to call in sick.

This photograph also shows how access to mobile phones may be gendered. At the time this photo was taken, Halima and Adwa shared mobile phones with their husbands, and the phones generally stayed in their husbands' possessions (field notes, October 15, 2014). Both Halima and Adwa's husbands worked during the day and took the shared mobile phones with

them (field notes, January 12, 2015), so when these women came to school, they did so without phones. Thus, while Hla had quick access to recording the example dialogue with a photograph, allowing her to quickly pick up her daughter downstairs, Halima and Adwa began copying the dialogue by hand—a challenging and lengthy task for both, as they were new readers and writers. However, they did not finish copying because Joy urged them to go and get their children, in order to respect the early childhood teachers’ time and need to depart (audio recording, October 15, 2014). As Halima gathered her things, she asked me to take a picture of the dialogue and text it to her husband; she looked up his phone number in a small book of numbers, gave it to me, and I texted it to him. Unfortunately, Adwa was gone before we had this idea. For a small number of women in Joy’s class, then, access to mobile phones was constrained.

In summary, the act of copying from board to notebook involved intertextual connections in that “one text leads (led) to another (as occurs when the writing of one letter leads to the writing of another...)” (Bloome et al., 2006, Kindle Location, 2094-2095). The learners’ creation of an additional text (i.e., photographs) created an intermediate intertextual connection: board to photograph to notebook. Their photographs served as intermediate mentor texts that women could modify (e.g., zoom) and utilize to mediate their successful completion of the academic task of copying. These photographs also gave the women access to the original text, written by Joy, after Joy had erased the text from the board, i.e., on an ongoing basis and for as long as they retained the digital photos. As shown, some of the photographs were taken specifically in order to access outside of the classroom, as in the case of the dialogue demonstrating how to call in sick to school. However, creating these intermediate mentor texts (and drawing on them either

in or out of class) was contingent upon women's access to mobile phones. As seen above, some women's access was constrained due to financial and gendered concerns.

4.2.2.1.2 Accessing online texts. In addition to creating mentor texts by taking photos of class texts, learners also searched for online texts on their phones or tablets to assist in completing academic tasks. These were mostly images, but in at least one case was not; I present this example below. This occurred at least once every day, including days that the class went on field trips.

One example came in mid-October, when Joy engaged learners in creating an LEA story surrounding a recent field trip to the library (see Appendix H for an image of the full story). The final write-up of this story was unusual in that the learners did not write it on one piece of paper and paste it into their books (as described in above in the section “Creating texts”). Rather, they created a whole book solely for this one story, one page per sentence. As the story was nine sentences long, the storybook required learners to create nine different illustrations—more than any other LEA story the class wrote the remainder of the year. In order to create these nine illustrations, Yaw Shen did Google searches for key words that appeared in each sentence on each page. The image below shows Yaw Shen looking up the words “house picture,” and using one of the images that appeared at the top of the screen to guide her drawing of a library building for the page with the sentence, “We went in the library.” Her table mate, Daw Ngai Pai, used one of the tablets for the same purpose, looking up images to guide her illustration of the last sentence in the story, “We were very, very happy” (this image is not included here).

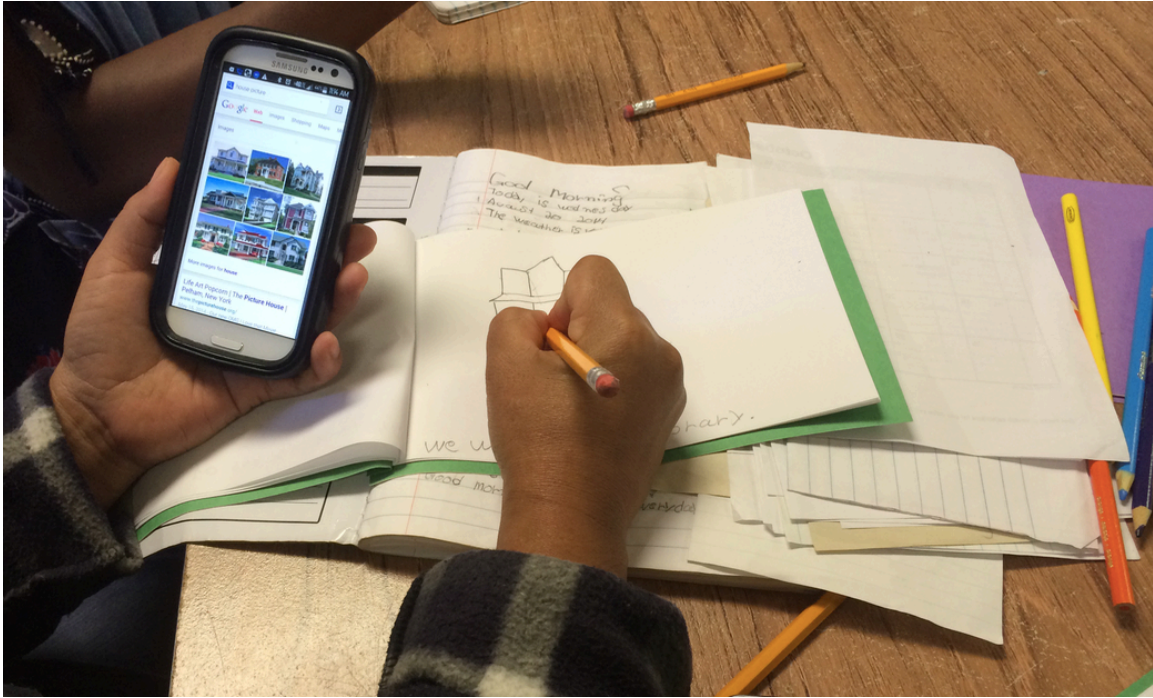


Figure 23. Yaw Shen looking up the words “house picture.”

Another example of looking up images for academic purposes occurred on February 11, 2015, as the class was setting up to re-enact the story of Rosa Parks’s resistance to giving up her seat on the bus and the ensuing 13-month long bus boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama during 1955-1956. (These events culminated in the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in favor of bus desegregation nationwide. For more information, see: http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_montgomery_bus_boycott_1955_1956.1.html). Joy and learners had moved their chairs to mirror seating on a bus (e.g., driver, two rows with an aisle down the middle), but before they re-enacted, Joy reviewed the story of Rosa Parks. She showed pictures from an informational book for youth checked out from the public library (i.e., *Rosa Parks: Don't give in!* by Dubowski [2006]) and explained the meaning of the word “boycott” as follows:

boycott. yeah. it means no go. don't give the money don't ride on the bus. if you want to boycott something? you don't give any money towards this. you don't buy this. if I boycott McDonald's? I don't buy anything from McDonald's I don't help other people buy McDonald's. I say don't buy McDonald's it's bad for your body (laughs) so that's boycott. (laughs) okay are you ready to do it? can we do it? (audio recording, February 11, 2015).

As Joy was reviewing the Rosa Parks and bus boycott story, Yaw Shen had looked up a picture of Rosa Parks on her phone and was sketching her image on a white piece of paper, as shown below. The time stamp on the photo coincides with the audio recording of Joy's explanation of boycott above.

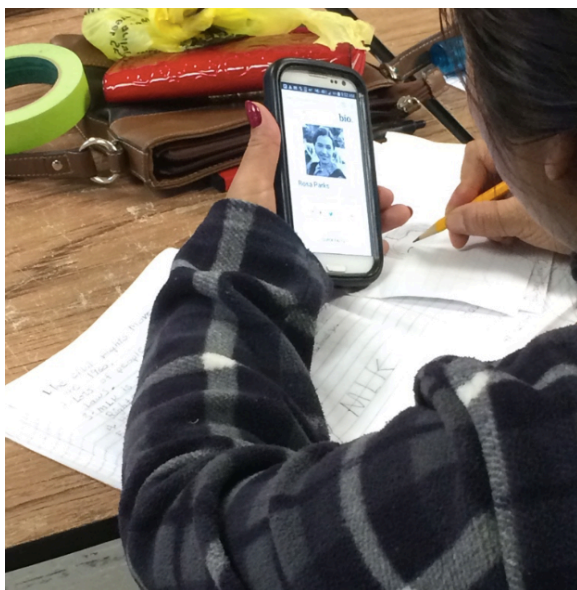


Figure 24. Hla using mobile phone to access image of Rosa Parks.

From the photo, it appears that Yaw Shen had been working on her illustration for several minutes. Joy had not asked learners to look up pictures of Rosa Parks nor to make illustrations, but both actions were clearly *valued* by her, as evidenced by her frequent requests for learners to illustrate LEA stories and other texts that they wrote for their handmade books. Yaw Shen knew

that Joy valued illustrations and occasionally gave Joy illustrations that coincided with class content, such as sketches of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Lincoln; Joy taped these near their corresponding LEA stories that hung on the wall (field notes, February 11, 2015). Further, Yaw Shen appeared to enjoy sketching, carefully choosing mentor texts for her drawings and using colored pencils and an eraser to modify as she worked on the variety of LEA stories the class created throughout the year. As early as the first day of audio recording in Joy's class, her talent for drawing was noted by both me and Joy (audio recording and field notes, October 15, 2014). In this event, then, I understand Yaw Shen as engaging in learning about Rosa Parks by building on the intertextual links already at play (i.e., the book chosen by Joy and Joy's oral explanations)—looking up an online photo of the person who was the topic of explanation and making her own drawings.

Learners also conducted phone and tablet Google image searches to look up definitions of words they did not know; the results of those searches served as a type of picture dictionary. This was common when Joy introduced rhyming word lists, e.g., "All of these words have the same vowel sound," such as in the image below from October 15, 2014.

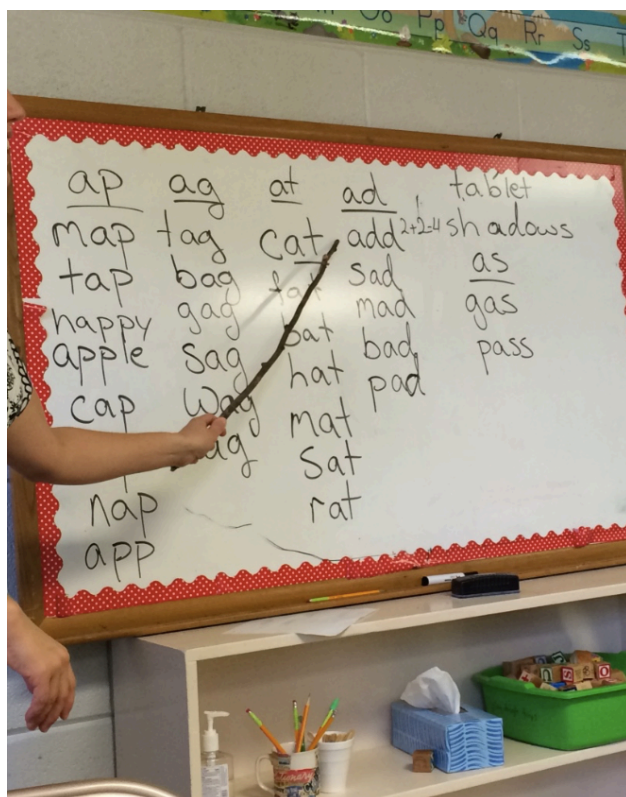


Figure 25. Joy teaching rhyming word lists.

Many of the words on these lists were new for learners, and Joy explained each word individually. However, since the word lists were generated primarily based on central vowel sound in CVC patterns, their meanings were not necessarily taught in greater context; Joy's main focus for many of the word lists was decoding (interview, December 11, 2014). As learners copied word lists, then, some used phones and tablets to look up images for words they did not know. One example of this came on the same date as the above photo. As shown above, Joy had been teaching the /æ/ sound, and the rimes -at, -ag, and -ap. During break time, when I was out of the room, the following short exchange unfolded.

Sahra: teacher?

Joy: rat. mhm. Sahra I love that you used the Google pictures to look up “rat.”

woo: (dropping intonation) excellent. (Sahra laughing) yes. this one. this one is in my

house. (Sahra laughing) mm: I don't like it. (Sahra laughing)

(audio recording, October 15, 2014)

Sahra had apparently conducted a Google search for pictures of rats and, although we do not know for certain, her rising intonation in the first line may have been an appeal for assistance from Joy. Joy confirmed to Sahra that she had, indeed, found pictures of rats, then praised Sahra's resourcefulness in using technology to create a kind of visual dictionary entry to aid her comprehension of the word “rat.” (Although not directly related to the current analysis, Joy's comments about a rat in her apartment also give us a window into the living conditions of some teachers of adults who piece together multiple part-time jobs in order to continue this work.)

Another example of using phones and tablet searches to complete academic tasks came at the beginning of April. Prior to the following excerpt, Joy was engaging the class in creating lists of fruit. Learners were typing the names of various fruits into the online educational tool “Today's Meet” (todaysmeet.com) on the e-tablets. In this case, there were not mentor texts on the board from which learners could copy; learners used notes from their notebooks or typed from memory. In the following excerpt, Hla was attempting to type the word “watermelon.” The left column in the following transcript represent Hla's speech during this process. The right column reflects Hla's actions frame by frame.

Verbalizations	Actions
Watermelon.	Taps neighbor to her left.
	Neighbor doesn't respond.
Watermelon.	Looks up behind camera then at camera.

Double “u:::”	Taps W on tablet
Water::: (.) double “u”	
	Moves gaze from tablet to notebook
	Pages back one page in notebook. Moves back to original page. Picks up tablet and puts it back down without looking at it.
	Pages notebook back 1 page, then another, then another, then forward again one, then back again one, scans, then returns to original page. Picks up tablet and pages her notebook forward one page.
	Scans notebook page, pages forward another page. Scans. Puts tablet down. Uses pointer finger to nearly tap on a letter on the tablet.
	Reaches for cell phone and picks it up.
	Swipes right twice, taps on Chinese dictionary app. Taps on 3 different things on cell phone. Writes with finger on cell phone screen the Chinese symbol 瓜 (<i>gual</i> , melon) twice.
	Puts cell phone down with right hand. Picks up tablet with both hands. Taps on voice recognition microphone in Google search toolbar (upper right-hand corner of tablet screen). Brings tablet to approximately 2” from her face and says.
Watermelon.	
	Starts laughing. Puts tablet down on notebook. Puts gaze down toward notebook while laughing. Covers face with palms of hands while laughing.
	Picks up tablet as tablet screen turns from voice recognition screen to search bar with drop down menu with 4 words (options to choose from if she had really been doing a Google search). Points to all four, but doesn’t select one (scanning?)
W – a – t – e – r – m – e – l – o – n	Holds tablet in left hand while copying the word “watermelon” into her notebook, saying each letter aloud as she copies it.

	Clicks back into “Today’s Meet” program where learners were writing down all of the fruit they like.
W – a – t – e – r – m – e – l – o – n. Watermelon.	With left hand on word ‘watermelon’ in notebook, types ‘watermelon’ into “Today’s Meet” program, saying each letter aloud as she copies it, and then saying the whole word.

(video recording, October 17, 2014)

In the above excerpt, Hla began by typing the letter ‘w,’ and it appeared that she wasn’t sure how to spell the rest of the word. She tapped her neighbor, perhaps an appeal for assistance, and then paged back and forth in her notebook, scanning the pages. She nearly tapped on her tablet, and then put it down, finally turning to her cell phone. She utilized the handwriting recognition technology available on the Chinese dictionary app on her phone to draw the character 瓜 (*gual*, melon) twice. She put down the phone and picked up the tablet, clicking on the microphone for Google voice recognition (VR). She pulled the tablet closer to her face, said “watermelon” and began laughing. She covered her face with her hands as she continued laughing. She picked the tablet back up and scanned the results of her VR entry, but did not click any results. She then wrote the word “watermelon,” verbally stating each letter as she wrote it, verbally mediating her writing. Finally, she re-entered todaysmeet.com and typed the word “watermelon” using what she had written in her notebook as a model.

In this excerpt, Hla used multiple modalities to successfully complete the task of typing the word “watermelon” into todaysmeet.com. Although it is not clear what her searches in the Chinese dictionary yielded, or how they supported her in completing this task, it is clear from that portion of the data that Hla drew on her multilingual and multiliterate resources to complete this academic task in English. It is interesting that Hla laughed and covered her face after using VR; this may indicate she was questioning whether she is a legitimate user of VR technology in

English, which could in turn reflect exposure to or the internalization of native-speaker ideologies. Nevertheless, her VR attempt was successful. She scanned results, found one that matched her speech, and successfully wrote the word “watermelon” into her notebook. Although the recording of the names of fruits in notebooks was not required by Joy, Hla may have taken this intermediate step in order to have a list of fruit in English available to her outside of class.

In sum, these data demonstrate learners utilizing mobile technologies in sophisticated ways to complete academic tasks. Most of these examples entail learners searching for pictorial supports to mediate their work. This is both interesting and understandable, in that most of the women in the class were just learning how to use alphabetic print for the first time in their lives. Having access to Google images on their phones and tablets gave the learners a more immediate, mobile, and comprehensive type of picture dictionary than conventional published picture dictionaries. In Hla’s case, the use of mobile technology included drawing on multimodal, multilingual, and multiliterate resources, which entailed moving across both alphabetic and logographic scripts. Although Joy had not modeled how to undertake all of the searches that Hla did, it appeared that Hla was drawing on a literacy practice she uses in her everyday life to do her academic work. Overall in these data, then, learners positioned themselves as savvy users of mobile technology, language, and literacies. Hla’s example specifically positions her as a multilingual, multiliterate English learner, with the right to draw on all of her language and literacy resources in order to complete academic tasks. Further, her success at using VR technology positioned her as a legitimate speaker of English.

4.2.2.1.3 *Resistance to mobile technology and social media.* In general, mobile phone use was common in Joy’s class. One counter-example to the acceptability of the ubiquitousness of mobile devices for academic activities came on the heels of the example shared above from

February 11, 2015, as the class was setting up to re-enact the story of Rosa Parks and bus boycotts. Prior to this excerpt, Joy had engaged the learners in rearranging the classroom to mirror the setup of a bus, reviewed the story with a text (as described in the previous subsection), and explained what a boycott was. This was the second re-enactment of the Rosa Parks incident and bus boycotts; the previous one took place during the prior class session. The learners who were present in the previous session, then, knew what to expect and some had taken their phones out and were poised to take photographs and video of this second re-enactment, as had Joy and I.

1	Joy: okay are you ready to do it? can we do it? yeah? okay so we need two more people Rosa Parks the White man and the bus driver. okay? and the police.
2	Sadia: teacher I stop I don't like the people take the picture Facebook or uh YouTube. these people (inaud) this one no. this (inaud)
3	Joy: okay okay okay you don't want to be famous. (laughing)
4	Sadia: no no no some people they (inaud)
5	Joy: yeah
6	Sadia: they say sometimes I put Facebook I put YouTube. I no like.
7	Joy: yeah yeah yeah I did not put on Facebook. don't worry.
8	Sadia: and YouTube <u>too</u>
9	Joy: no YouTube I didn't put it on YouTube
10	Sadia: okay
11	Joy: I just think it's so beautiful (laughing)
12	Sadia: if ask okay. but if you put Internet like=
13	Joy: =yeah yeah yeah <u>not</u> for the Internet. it's so important Sadia. thank you. okay are we ready?

(audio recording, February 11, 2015)

In this excerpt, Sadia stopped the class activity to voice a concern regarding class photography and video that could be posted on the Internet, specifically Facebook and/or YouTube (lines 2, 6, 8). It is not clear whether Sadia's concern was rooted in knowledge that sometimes photos and video are posted on the Internet without subjects' permission, or if she had personally experienced this, either with individuals outside of REC or with her current

classmates, several of whom had Facebook accounts. Sadia's concern is understandable not only in light of privacy concerns, but also considering the content of the reenactment. A few of the learners took up the roles of racist White community members; the learners knew those community members' acts were horrific, and one opted out of participating, instead watching from the side of the room (video recording, February 11, 2015). Although the learners were acting out roles, their actions could have been misinterpreted if videos were posted online.

Joy initially attempted to insert some humor into the interaction (line 3), then assured Sadia that she hadn't and wouldn't post on social media (lines 7 and 9), and offered one reason for wanting to take video (line 11). Finally, she agreed with Sadia that class photos and video were "not for Internet," thanking Sadia for pointing out this important detail. It is interesting, however, that Joy did not address concerns regarding how other learners may be using photos and video taken during class or how I, as a researcher, may use them (although this was discussed during the informed consent process, Thomas & Pettitt, 2016).

Across the data set, Sadia was the only learner who voiced a concern regarding potential out-of-class uses of photographs and videos taken during class. In this excerpt, Sadia positioned herself as agentic, that is, as someone who has the right to approve (or not) how her image is used on social media. Her words may have influenced the ways her classmates and teacher used their pictures and video of this event, or even perhaps past or future images/video taken during class. Her speech was also "socially meaningful" (Majid Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 44) in that it influenced future research reports: although I took video of this re-enactment, Sadia's concern led me to choose to include neither the video nor a transcription of the audio portion of the video in my research write-ups.

4.2.2.1.4 *Making sense of mobile device use and academic positioning.* In these excerpts, learners created, found, manipulated, and used mentor texts to mediate their completion of academic tasks such as making illustrations for stories, copying texts into notebooks, looking up definitions of words they did not know, and finding the spelling of known words. In these processes, there was no questioning of the value of the tasks or how the tasks might support the expansion of their language and literacy resources. Nevertheless, learners positioned themselves as agentic and resourceful: their innovative manipulation of available technologies, notably, was not prompted by Joy; neither, presumably, was it envisioned by the creators of the technologies—e.g., Google voice recognition as spelling model; mobile phone photography as creator of mentor texts; or Google image search as picture dictionary. In this way, the learners disrupted storylines of formal schooling in which learners have the duty to carry out language and literacy tasks only in the ways prescribed to them by teachers and designers of textbooks and technologies.

Photographing class texts, in particular, allowed learners to transport and access those texts in out-of-class spaces—underscoring these photographs’ potential for future intertextual connections. Learners’ photographs of classroom texts also served as an ongoing resource for Joy, who, understandably, erased the board either during or at the end of every class. In the storylines of conventional classrooms, it is generally teachers who have the right and responsibility to bring new texts into class; when students do so, this has usually been requested by the teacher. In this classroom, however, learners created photographed texts on their own—without being prompted by their teacher—and the teacher herself at times asked to reference these photographs during later classes (field notes, November 17, 2014, April 22, 2015, amongst others). Thus, these non-requested, but sanctioned texts served to mediate Joy’s teaching and

were used to propose additional intertextual connections for her and the class. In this way, photographing classroom texts that were later drawn on during instruction positioned learners as those with the right to create instructional texts—to a certain degree, as assistants to the teacher.

Yet, it is important to recall that access to mobile phones was not available to all. Financial constraints prevented some families from purchasing more than one mobile phone; some women in Joy's class, then, shared a phone with their spouse, who took the phone to work. In these families, mobile phone use, or access to the phone, was gendered, which constrained those women's experiences with mobile technology in the classroom. As personal mobile technologies are increasingly transported into classroom spaces and used for both academic and non-academic purposes, we cannot assume that these technologies are universally available; these data in particular show us how mobile phones continue to be a gendered artifact for some.

A final concern is brought to us by Sadia, who reminded her classmates, teacher, and the researcher that the use of photo and video technology may not be welcomed by all learners. Even when it is welcomed, learners may not agree on how photos and videos should be used outside of class.

4.2.2.2 Mobile devices and transnational/intercultural positioning. Learners also utilized their phones and the school's tablets to engage in activities that were not assigned by Joy. As they did, the women proposed multiple kinds of intertextual connections: across geographical spaces and times, between people in those spaces and times, and between themselves and new spaces in the U.S. The following subsections describe the ways phones and tablets were used as tools for making those connections which, in turn, served to highlight the women's transnational and intercultural positionings.

Here, I align with Fuentes (2014) to define transnationalism as “an ongoing relational

system rooted in individuals' simultaneity of dispersed and interconnected social, ideological, religious, familial, economic, educational, and cultural relations and attachments that cross the physical and spatial boundaries of nation-states and shape individuals' visions of their present and future lives" (pp. 147-148). The data excerpts below demonstrate some of the ways the women in Joy's classroom used mobile technologies to carve out and maintain such transnational ties.

Similarly, the women created and sustained connections across different ethnolinguistic communities within their classroom and in Cadeville, that is, locally as well as transnationally. To describe these cases, I utilize the term *intercultural*, e.g., intercultural ties, intercultural experiences, intercultural positionings, etc.

4.2.2.2.1 Photographs of community events. Photographs of community events were also shared by learners during class. One example of this occurred in mid-November during the class warm-up (calendar time) phase of class. Joy requested that Halima take up the subject position of teacher and ask her classmates one by one what they did over the weekend. This question encouraged learners to propose intercontextual connections between the classroom literacy event of discussing past activities and the activities themselves. In the following excerpt, Aisa and Eh Say used their phones to support their retelling of weekend activities. This excerpt is both usual and unusual: the warm-up phase of class generally involved oral interactions surrounding upcoming activities, but questions posed to learners about their recent past activities were less common. This is one of only two instances recorded in the dataset in which Joy engaged the class in a structured activity surrounding the theme of what they did over the weekend.

		Theme
1	Halima: Aisa how was your weekend?	weekend activities
2	Aisa: mmm Saturday? cook food. food for baby shower.	baby shower

3	Joy: oh wo:::w	
4	Aisa: yes. Sunday made the baby shower.	
5	Joy: wo:::w whose baby?	
6	Aisa: my friend baby	
7	Joy: oh::: so fu:n. I love baby showers. [yea:::h. very good. (laughs)	
8	Aisa: [yeah	
9	Aisa: I get the the picture	
10	Joy: oh let me see the pictures	
11	Halima: Eh Say how was your weekend?	weekend activities
12	Eh Say: Sunday I'm I'm go to farmer go to new farmer's market	farmer's market
13	Joy: oh farmer's market	
14	Eh Say: yeah ne new new farmer's market	
15	Joy: there's a new one?	
16	Eh Say: yes	
17	Joy: ooo::: where? where? where? (laughs)	
18	Eh Say: (name of street)	
19	Joy: yes. oh. you know. I was driving and I saw it and I said "oo what is this?" what's the name?	
20	(Overlapping conversations begin: Joy with learners who went to farmer's market; Ss on left side of room with me, where recorder is located.)	
21	Aisa: (showing me pictures of baby shower in her phone, pointing to and naming her friends)	baby shower
22	Nicole: oh wo:w.	
23	Aisa: and thi:s me.	
24	Nicole: (several pictures of Aisa in succession) that's you that's you that's you (laughing)	
25	Joy: (to Ss on right side of room) Vietnamese?	farmer's market
26	(Ss overlapping speech with Joy)	
27	Me: mmm:::	baby shower
28	Yaw Shen (to Nicole): want to see the picture	physical space in class
29	Nicole: do you want to go by Adwa?	“
30	Joy: I want to go. maybe when the tire on the van is better?	farmer's market
31	Nicole: ohhh::: (laughing) cu:te. what's his name?	baby shower

32	Aisa: (tells me the baby's name)	
33	Nicole: (I repeat the baby's name)	
34	Aisa: yes (repeats baby's name)	
35	Eh Say (showing Joy pictures of farmer's market opening): teacher uh:::	farmer's market
36	Joy: what's on your head?	
37	Eh Say: (inaud)	
38	Joy: it's beautiful.	
39	(5 sec pause)	
40	Joy: oh my goodness look at the baby::: (laughs) oh:: my word can I show the baby?	baby shower
41	Aisa: yeah	
42	Joy: look at this baby:::	
43	(Ss talking simultaneously. Burmese learners who went to Farmer's Market showing friends the pictures of their visit at the same time Joy shows pictures of the baby from the baby shower to other learners. Joy goes to board and writes "baby shower" and "farmer's market.")	baby shower/farmer's market
44	Joy: okay. so. Aisa had a baby shower. not her baby her friends' baby.	baby shower
45	Aisa: friend baby.	
46	Joy: so they had a party for the baby. ohhh::: the new::: baby::: do you know baby shower?	
47	Ss (overlapping): yeah yeah yeah	
48	Joy: lookit hi:::m.	
49	(Chriki comes in)	
50	Joy: oh Chriki we have to ask Chriki how was your weekend?	weekend activities
51	Yaw Shen: teacher teacher farmer's market (inaud.)	farmer's market
52	Joy (Yaw Shen showing Joy more pictures of the farmer's market opening): oh my goodness lookit <u>this</u> . did you see the balloons? oh that's beautiful. I want to <u>go</u> there.	
53	Nicole: oh lookit your <u>dress</u> it's <u>beautiful</u> I <u>love</u> it.	
54	Joy: (writing on board) okay so. Aisa had a baby shower. Eh Say went to the new farmer's market. yeah let's see these pictures. oh lookit your dress I <u>lo:ve</u> your <u>dre:ss</u> .	farmer's market/baby shower
55	do you have more in the market? so <u>this</u> one. <u>this</u> one is in the market. do they have clothes?	farmer's market

56	(overlapping speech inaud.)	
57	Joy: oh it's next to Ross. the new farmer's market. (audio recording and field notes, November 17, 2014)	

Prior to this excerpt, Halima had asked seven learners about their weekend activities; Aisa was the first to mention she had taken photos (line 9). Joy's request to look at the photos (line 10) reflected her contingent orientation to classroom interactions (Baynham, 2006), which carried throughout this excerpt. Although Halima continued asking classmates about their weekend activities (line 11), once Aisa found the photos on her phone, she began showing them to me (line 21). I was sitting close to her and, as many of the learners in the classroom called me "teacher," it is possible Aisa considered me a stand-in for Joy, who had moved on to talking with Eh Say about the new farmer's market (lines 13-19). From lines 20-39, two storytelling events took place concurrently, one surrounding the baby shower and the other surrounding the new farmer's market. Perhaps following Aisa's lead, Eh Say showed pictures of her visit to the farmer's market (lines 35-38), so both of these concurrent stories included the support of photos taken on mobile phones during the previous two days.

In line 40, Joy's attention was drawn back to the theme of the baby shower via Aisa's pictures, and she began to show a picture of the baby in question around the room (line 42). Meanwhile, the concurrent interactions and picture-showing surrounding the new farmer's market continued amongst some learners (line 43). Joy continued with the theme of the baby shower (lines 44, 46, 48) until Chriki arrived (line 49-50), which was also when Yaw Shen also called out to Joy to show the pictures she had taken of the farmer's market; she had attended the opening as well (lines 51-52). The theme of the farmer's market then carried through the remainder of this excerpt and the next five minutes of class.

In this excerpt, my focus is on classroom interactions surrounding pictures taken with phones, particularly as incited by learners (lines 9, 35-38, 43). During these interactions, learners proposed intertextual connections; that is, the photos generated over the weekend (at the farmer's market visit and the baby shower) became a resource for learners' storytelling during class. In other words, learners mobilized the pictures as a mediating tool, perhaps to express what they may have had difficulty describing with words (e.g., their dress, what they saw, details surrounding what they did in those spaces).

For instance, not reflected in this transcript is the content of most of Aisa's photos, which revealed that the baby shower was for a Liberian woman and her baby, and it took place in a large hall. In addition to pictures of Aisa herself and the baby for whom the shower was held, the pictures contained images of long tables with seating for at least 50 and color-coordinated decorations: disposable plastic tablecloths, plates, and cups; napkins; balloons; and centerpieces (field notes, November 17, 2014). In one photo, Aisa and four women, all dressed in what appeared to be traditional Liberian dress, stood smiling for the camera behind a long table that looked to be set up as a buffet; it contained at least 10 different homemade dishes and platters. Further, baby shower attendees were both men and women, and activities included a DJ and dancing (field notes, November 17, 2014). Unlike "patterns of interaction that tend to unfold in...(the) social arena" (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 2) of many baby showers held in the U.S., Aisa's friend had already given birth to her baby when the shower was held (lines 31-34, 40, 42).

In addition to the intertextual links proposed by Aisa (i.e., between the baby shower photos and her oral storytelling), this excerpt shows that Aisa succeeded in transporting the everyday text of baby shower photos across boundaries (i.e., out-of-class to in-class spaces) and thus in sharing some of the cultural practices of her ethnic-Mandingo Liberian community with

her teacher, classmates, and me. The content of the photos—and the act of sharing them with her classmates—highlighted Aisa’s intercultural positioning in the U.S., that is, as a woman with ties to individuals and groups who claim multiple ethnic and linguistic identifications: in this case, Mandingo, other Liberian ethnic groups, and the other myriad ethnolinguistic identifications of learners in Joy’s classroom. Further, Aisa’s act of sharing photos was “socially significant” (Majid Hayati & Maniati, 2010, p. 44) in that Joy used her photos and her story as a basis for additional class discussion and photo sharing.

Similarly, not reflected in the transcripts is the precise content of Eh Say’s and Yaw Shen’s photos from the farmer’s market opening. Both had dressed up for the occasion, Eh Say in a traditional Karen women’s dress with a colored head scarf, and Yaw Shen in a skirt, blouse, high heels, and makeup. Both had attended with Karen and Chin family members and friends. In addition to photos of the farmer’s market itself, both women shared several pictures of themselves, posing at various angles and looking directly into the camera, near the entrance to the market (field notes, November 17, 2014). In the photos described here, the women’s dress conveyed they were participating in an important event (e.g., attention to appearance), and their gestures (e.g., confident poses, eye contact with camera) communicated confidence, and perhaps that this was an event at which they felt they belonged. Eh Say’s clothing choice further indexed her transnational positioning, as a woman with ties both to the U.S. and Karen State in Burma.

It should be noted that these classroom interactions surrounding pictures taken with phones also shifted Halima’s positioning within the classroom. Line 11 was the last time Halima asked her classmates how their weekends were, in the light of interactions and story telling surrounding the baby shower and farmer’s market. In fact, in Line 50, Joy commented that Chriki needed to be asked about her weekend, and Halima (or other students) did not have the

opportunity to do this due to the Yaw Shen's turn in the next line. In other words, while some learners in this excerpt were sharing more elaborate stories about their weekends, Halima was shifted out of the position of "teacher."

4.2.2.2.2 *Photographs of family members.* A second example of photographs being shared in class occurred during the break time phase of class—a common time for learners to use tablets and phones for personal use, particularly to access and show family pictures. Usually, the pictures in question were located on learners' phones; occasionally, however, the pictures were located on a Facebook account, as described in the following excerpt from early in the school year, drawn from field notes.

Sahra uses the tablet during break time to connect to her FB page, which is written in Arabic. I don't see her posting anything, but I do see her scroll up and down the page, looking at pictures of family. Today, she showed me pictures of her kids with their cousins (sister's kids and brother's kids) when they were in Libya. I'm not sure if she & her family passed through Libya on their way to the U.S., or if they went back to Africa to visit. I thought I understood from the story that her sister and her sister's kids still live in Libya. Last week, she showed me pictures of her own kids. Today, I also showed her pictures of my family, and I taught her and Halima the words niece, nephew, aunt, uncle, cousin. When Halima said the word "cousin" in Arabic, I repeated it (but I can't remember it now), and she and Sahra laughed and said "yes."

(field notes, October 20, 2014)

In this case, Sahra used her Facebook account (written in Arabic) as a means to propose intertextual links between family photographs and oral storytelling (in English). Her proposed links crossed languages (English-Arabic), spaces (Libya-classroom), and times (Libya-now);

they also connected me to Sahra's family members, even if the connection was only virtual and unidirectional (i.e., I do not know whether Sahra shared pictures of me with those family members in Libya). I acknowledged that Sahra was making these connections and demonstrated that I (at least partially) understood their social significance by following her lead and proposing my own: showing pictures and sharing stories about my own family, who also lived a long distance away, although still in the U.S. Sahra's connection-making also opened up an opportunity for the teaching and learning of language forms in both English (for Sahra and Halima) and Arabic (for me); the latter was a lingua franca for Sahra and Halima.

I gained a better understanding of the social significance of the connections between Sahra's Facebook pictures from Libya and her story later in the school year. Driving Sahra and her daughter home from school in early March, I learned that Sahra and her children had lived in Libya for about 10 years before migrating to the U.S. from Sahra's birth country of South Sudan (field notes, March 6, 2015). The previous October, then, Sahra had been sharing pictures of a place she had once called home, not a place she had visited. During the car ride in March, I came to understand that, when telling stories from "home," Sahra was occasionally referencing South Sudan and at other times referencing Libya; at that point in Sahra's linguistic and migratory history, when listening to her stories, it was up to listeners to either set aside ambiguity, or to zero in on the specific location by either asking for specification (e.g., "Was that in Libya or South Sudan?") or piecing together knowledge of other details (e.g., Aisa's age during the story; which of her children were already born, etc.; field notes, March 6, 2015).

In these data, Sahra positioned herself as a transnational woman who is skilled in using available technologies to develop and maintain relational connections. That is, in addition to maintaining emotional ties to two countries outside of the U.S. that she called "home" (I never

heard her call the U.S. “home”), Sahra maintained relationships with family members (and potentially friends) across those countries, as well. Further, she utilized mobile technology to virtually introduce me to some of her family members; in doing so, she (likely unknowingly) prompted me to virtually introduce my family via Facebook pictures, as well. Her choice to show pictures of family living far away (vs. for example, YouTube videos she found humorous) invoked Sahra’s positioning as a member of a family that has experienced (forced?) migration, and whose members were dispersed in at least three different countries at the time of data collection. Additionally, these photos specifically underscored Sahra’s positionings as mother, aunt, and sister. As in the examples above, sharing family photos and parts of her migratory story potentially signaled a desire for more personal connection with me (Gillespie, 2005).

Sahra’s also positioned herself in these data as a skilled communicator across languages, as the photos served as a means to communicate more than otherwise may have been possible for Sahra in English at the time of data collection; for instance, she has children, a sister, a brother, nieces, and nephews, and they were all in Libya together. Finally, sharing photos also led to short impromptu language learning lessons, i.e., the names of extended family in English, cousin in Arabic.

4.2.2.2.3 *Additional connections to “home.”* As mentioned above, the use of tablets and phones for personal use was common during break time, and the medium of video was especially popular. Learners used tablets and occasionally their phones to look up videos of news reports, variety shows, game shows, amateur videos, and parenting videos from home/migration countries, as well as music videos in languages other than English, which they occasionally shared with me, Joy, or one another.

One example of sharing videos came in early February, when class members first learned of the February, 2015, fighting in Shan state (near the Burma-China border) from Hla when she received a text message from family members in Burma; learners from Burma subsequently searched for local news sources on an e-tablet and all class members watched a Burmese news video regarding the fighting, with learners from Burma describing as best they could their understandings of what was happening (field notes, February 9, 2015; for a later news report in English of this international incident, see: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-31511331>). In this one classroom event, the “outside pressed in” (Baynham, 2006, p. 37) on the classroom, and a number of multimodal, bilingual intertextual links took place locally and transnationally: Hla’s text message, discussion between Burmese learners, a Burmese news report, and an English-Burmese discussion. These texts and interactions centered Burmese class members’ concerns, and positioned them as teachers with the right to instruct those who were unfamiliar with the ongoing political issues along the Burma-China border.

The following excerpt, also drawn from field notes, was recorded earlier in the school year and describes break time activities surrounding tablet use.

As I walked by, Hla showed me the Burmese music video she’d been playing on her tablet and told me the name of the artist and (I think) that she is very famous. I sat and listened for a bit and said it was very beautiful. Paw Wah motioned and called me over. She and Eh Say had YouTube open on a tablet looking at what appeared to be a homemade video, perhaps taken on a cell phone? (shaky camera, in and out of focus) I saw two homes made out of what looked like bamboo (or a similar type of wood) burning, some people running on dirt paths, someone yelling. Paw Wah said this was her village—not her home village, but where she had been in the refugee camp. I asked if

this was happening right now, and she said it was a few months prior, but after she left.

She didn't live through it, but friends told her about it. She said her family was not in the fire, either. I said it was horrible and I was sorry. She wasn't crying; I wasn't sure how to read her reaction or what the culturally-appropriate ways were to respond.

(field notes, October 15, 2014)

In this data excerpt, two learners used tablets to share with me videos from their home countries—one professionally-made, one apparently homemade. Hla's video was a pop culture text, specifically a music video of a female singer from Burma. In addition to showing me the video, Hla provided two details: the artist's name and that she was well-known; the first of these is an act that is part of the process of making an introduction. Although a simple exchange, in this small excerpt, Hla revealed her knowledge of and interest in pop music of the language she identifies as her L1, Burmese. Her use of the tablet and her interaction with me positioned her as an expert in this area, with the right to inform me about Burmese music and musical artists. This music video, then, was a mediating means for Hla to share more about her culturally-specific interests, and potentially, as in the examples above, for her to attempt to position herself outside of a teacher-student dichotomy. Her choice of video underscored her transnational positioning, that is, in this case, as a woman who maintains cultural attachments across national boundaries.

Paw Wah's video appeared to be a homemade account of a village fire in Burma. She purposely motioned me over to her table to share the video and explain her connections to this distressing event; in other words, Paw Wah proposed an intertextual relationship between the video and her oral story-telling surrounding the event of the fire in her former village. Choosing to share a video with this content revealed Paw Wah as a woman who had experienced forced migration firsthand and who had lived as a refugee in a camp outside her home country. This

positioned her as an expert on refugee experiences, with the right to teach me about some of the distressing events and makeshift living conditions that many refugees from her part of the world experience. Further, Paw Wah chose to share difficult content. Unlike the examples above, which centered on family photos, enjoyable events in the surrounding community, and a Burmese music video, Paw Wah shared content that was potentially traumatizing. However, similar to the examples above, I understand this as an appeal for a more personal, more humanized relationship with me and potentially their teacher (who was out of the room at the time this exchange transpired). In this way, Paw Wah's sharing, like her classmates' sharing described above, was also an attempt to create more personal connections with me and Joy; yet Paw Wah went a step further, sharing content of a more personal and difficult nature, which could be interpreted as requiring both more strength and more vulnerability.

4.2.2.2.4 *Making sense of intercultural and transnational positionings with mobile technology.* In the data provided above, the women used specific moments in space and time (i.e., break time, particular classroom moments) to initially make intercultural and transnational connections for themselves—as above, between the here-and-now and then-and-there—and to draw others into those connections with them. Learners accomplished this by making intertextual links—between pictures and oral story-telling, and between videos and oral story-telling. For instance, Aisa's baby shower photos and Yaw Shen's and Eh Say's photos of attending the farmer's market grand opening served as mediating means to tell stories about those events, as well as to display multiple identifications across different ethnolinguistic communities in the United States. Further, for all three of these women, coupling the showing of photos with oral storytelling could be understood as a "literacy of display" (Hamilton, 2000, p. 20), that is as "images where the literacy signifies individual or group identity, whether on

banners, slogans or clothes” (ibid.). For instance, in her work with Latinx youths, Richardson Bruna (2007) documents how “the whole body is employed as a semiotic resource through dress- and gesture-based observable actions of the body...to signify spatial and temporal belonging” (p. 235-236). Learners’ taking photographs to document their presence in certain U.S. places at certain times—such as the baby shower and grand opening, and for some, choosing to wear traditional ethnic dress—may be understood as an expression of belonging, a multimodal literacy practice that communicates, “Look at me.... I’m here” (Richardson Bruna, p. 251). This, in turn, positioned these learners as legitimate community members, participating in important community events wearing traditional ethnic clothing; in a sense, they chose a simultaneity of belonging and difference.

Additionally, the learners’ intertextual links demonstrated their skill in mobilizing available technology to maintain cultural and relational ties across national boundaries. For instance, Hla remained connected to Burmese popular culture through watching videos during class break time. Sahra made connections via Facebook between me and her family living in Libya, which underscored the dispersion experienced by her family. Paw Wah’s video sharing added another layer to transnationalism, highlighting her experiences as a refugee woman. Hornberger (2007) insists that “educators need to consider the role transnationalism plays in the literacies and identities of students ... and look for ways to bridge their digital and academic worlds to provide ‘space for all youth to express and share their concerns and challenges related to local, national, and global issues and politics’ (McGinnis et al.)” (p. 3). I expand upon this recommendation by encouraging adult educators to take up a similar stance.

Finally, learners’ choices to share these pictures and videos pointed to the possibility for their desire to establish more personal relationships with me and Joy, thus disrupting storylines

of formal schooling in which students and teachers maintain professional distance. For example, many of the stories that accompanied these electronic texts took on the hue of introductions, e.g., “this is my sister. her name is” I discuss the pedagogical implications of this in the next chapter.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study have implications for pedagogy, program administration, second language teacher education (SLTE; here, I am speaking of MA TESOL and MA in Applied Linguistics programs in particular), and theory in adult EAL/family literacy teaching and learning contexts. However, recommendations for pedagogy and programming can have little influence if not accompanied by policies and funding that facilitate their implementation. As shown below, the current adult EAL/family literacy policy climate in many states is not conducive to the recommendations of this study, nor the recommendations of previous scholars (cited below). Thus, I close with implications for policy and funding.

5.1 From Socialization to Expanding Learner Voice

Perhaps one of the least surprising findings of this research is that language and literacy instruction were not only means for teaching reading, writing, and language forms, but also for socializing newcomers into specific storylines related to socially-preferred ways of “doing” and “being” in their classroom and, perhaps by extension, participants in their new communities (see “Social positioning and daily literacy routines”). Particularly, the present study adds evidence to the existing body of scholarship in family literacy contexts pointing to the positioning of women as the primary literacy workers of their homes (Griffith & Smith, 2005; Luttrell, 1996); findings here also expand upon this positioning in two ways. First, findings from the present study demonstrate that women in family literacy teaching and learning contexts can be positioned as

literacy-workers-*in-training*—that is, in need of being socialized into preferred ways of “doing literacy” and “doing language” with their children. Second, the findings show how classroom discourse and literacy practices can serve to socialize women into socially-preferred ways of carrying out the subject position of mother more generally, for instance, by dressing children in ways that communicate to society more broadly “I care” (e.g., closed-toed shoes in cold weather) and/or by taking responsibility for what children are wearing—as opposed to, for example, that responsibility falling to fathers, other family members, or others living in the home (i.e., Note that Joy did *not* say, “Tell your husbands to cover the children’s feet when they get kids dressed in the morning.”

This study also illustrates some of the ways that classroom literacy practices such as attendance-taking, utilizing calendars, and greeting/leave-taking can mirror common socially-preferred literacy practices in workplaces and in the community more broadly (e.g., tracking of events, appointments, and people on paper and in writing), thus socializing learners into specific ways of performing not only the current subject positions of “student” and “new community member” but also the potentially future subject position of “worker.”

There appears to be an inherent logic in taking up practices and processes of socialization in English classrooms for newcomer adult refugees and other immigrants, whether inside or outside of family literacy contexts. As I wrote in the first paragraph of the introduction to this study, newcomers frequently work at carving out spaces for themselves as legitimate participants in their new communities—that is, they make efforts toward belonging (as seen in Warriner, 2007) or social inclusion (Allman, 2013), likely with varying definitions for, and types of, success. Classroom instruction in dominant, socially-preferred ways of “doing” and “being,” then, would seem to play an important role in supporting newcomers in constructing legitimate

membership in dominant communities. However, if left unexamined, the apparent logic and naturalness of this perspective may belie its interventionist (Auerbach, 1995) underpinnings, which include the ideological nature of L2 language and literacy socialization, how this socialization can serve to shape particular kinds of individuals to construct particular kinds of societies, and how it can further marginalize the experiences, languages, and literacy practices of newcomers, as shown in the literature review for this study (e.g., Auerbach, 1989, 1995; Hendrix, 1999; Nickse, 1990). Street and Street (1991) further explain,

Within school, the association of literacy acquisition with the child's development of specific social identities and positions; the privileging of written over oral language; and the neutralizing and objectification of language that disguises its social and ideological character—all must be understood as essentially social processes: they contribute to the construction of a particular kind of citizen, a particular kind of identity, and a particular concept of the nation (p. 83).

In the case of the present study, we can replace “child” with “newcomer adult” and “literacy” with “language,” thus understanding Street and Street's argument as applying not only to children, but also to newcomer adults in the U.S. learning English as an additional language.

Additionally, this perspective overlooks, and thus devalues, the myriad language and literacy practices newcomers bring to their English classrooms, homes, and communities (Moll et al., 1992; Heath, 1983). Although the following quote from (May, 2001) centers on majority-minority language issues, the same question applies to majority-minority language and literacy practices:

It is clearly not unreasonable to expect from all language speakers within a given nation-state some knowledge of the common public language(s) of the state. Thus, it needs to be

made clear that the advocacy of minority language rights is not about replacing a majority language with a minority one. Rather, it is about questioning and contesting why the promotion of a majority language should necessarily be at the expense of all others. (p. 380)

In other words, what is argued for here is additive, not subtractive, adult/family literacy EAL language and literacy instruction. Recommendations for this appear below.

Equally importantly, the apparent logic of the perspective presented in this subsection overlooks the role of receiving communities in constructing social inclusion. Instead, it erroneously places the responsibility for change entirely on newcomers when, as Warriner (2007) clearly shows, English language proficiency for refugees and other immigrants does *not* translate into “a secure sense of belonging and membership in the U.S. context” (p. 344).

5.1.1 Implications for pedagogy, programming, and second language teacher education.

To begin, teacher educators and teacher-learners in MA TESOL and MA Applied Linguistics programs can increase their awareness of the similarities, differences, and unique demands of teaching English in programs such as the REC, in comparison to teaching English in higher education (e.g., intensive English programs in the U.S. or abroad) or in overseas K-12 settings. For instance, supporting adult L2 learners who have never attended school before and are emergent readers in any language (e.g., learning how, for the first time in their lives, to hold a pencil, form letters, make sound-symbol correlations, etc.) calls for training similar to, but different from, that offered to teacher-learners preparing to teach children how to read (i.e., early childhood education, K-3 education; Vinogradov & Liden, 2009). Of course, the training in question should differ in the themes, materials, and activities taken up, thus accounting for the

fact that learners are adults and bring with them myriad life experiences, prior knowledge, and literacy practices that may not be recognized as such in traditional forms of schooling.

Developing this awareness in teacher-learners, as well as expanding teacher-learners' practices for the context in question, is particularly important for SLTE programs that require teacher-learners to carry out practice teaching in community-based programs with adult L2 learners such as those at the REC.

Regarding the tensions described in the previous section, adult EAL/family literacy administrators and teachers can begin to respond by examining power relations in their curricula and instruction through what I call an "analysis of rights and duties." This proposed analysis would draw on the theoretical construct of "rights and duties" from social positioning theory (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5), and borrow and build upon Benesch's (1991) recommendation for "rights analysis" in higher education English for Specific Purposes settings. Benesch (1999) explains,

Rights analysis...studies how power is exercised and resisted in an academic setting, aiming to reveal how struggles for power and control can be sources of democratic participation in life both in and outside the classroom (p. 315)

Such an analysis would include examinations of both pedagogy and curriculum (p. 313). My proposed analysis extends Benesch's by including the construct of "duties," and does not limit the analysis to "rights and duties" of learners, but rather of all in a school; this is based on the recognition that teachers' and administrators' choices can be constrained by top-down requirements (discussed below). The construct of duties illuminates the kinds of requirements and expectations that are placed on individuals and groups in particular social settings, as shown in the data above. Thus, it provides additional insight into the workings of power in the setting

in question.

Drawing on the findings of this study, I offer some questions that may inform an analysis of rights and duties, such as: Who has the right to be involved in setting the curriculum, including specific objectives and assessment? Who has the right to have their experiences and concerns represented in the curriculum? Who is positioned as having the duty to change? Who is positioned as having the right to expect change of others? (In other words, do curriculum and instruction assume that changes in language and literacy practices are only expected of newcomers, or are local communities also positioned as needing to change?) Who has the duty to move toward whom? These questions are offered as a starting place and a set of tools for individuals or groups interested in carrying out the kind of analysis recommended here.

Second language teacher education programs could explicitly teach teacher-learners how to conduct such analyses, as well as rationales for doing so. For instance, teacher-learners' reflections on lesson plans and curricula developed as part of their teacher training could include reflections on the "rights and duties" implied in their proposed curricular and instructional activities.

5.1.1.1 LEA as counter-discourse to interventionist pedagogy. The practice of LEA in Joy's classroom offers an example of pedagogy that engages with the questions, "Who has the right to have their experiences and concerns represented in the curriculum?" and "Who has the duty to move toward whom?" For instance, basing core classroom texts on experiences shared in community spaces serves to ground adult EAL/family literacy classroom language and literacy practices in learners' rich, concrete experiences connected to specific times and local places. As discussed in Chapter 4, learners' LEA stories are records of their participation in new community spaces, which can further "make the wall between schools and their communities more

permeable and...draw students into a sense of social membership” (Smith & Sobel, 2014, p. 16).

In the example of LEA provided in this study, then, learners were positioned as having the right to have their shared experiences represented in the curriculum, all of which took place primarily in English-dominant spaces. However, not systematically represented in the curriculum were learners’ experiences prior to enrolling at REC (i.e., these appeared only when learners brought them in) and learners’ recent experiences in multilingual-dominant spaces. This is both remarkable and unremarkable. It is unremarkable because the women who came to REC did so in order to expand their language and literacy practices in English. On the other hand, the choice of English-dominant spaces is remarkable because, as reported earlier in this paper, Cadeville was highly multilingual: Over 60 percent of the population spoke a language(s) other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

Here, I invite teacher educators and practitioners to take up and expand the LEA practices of Joy’s classroom, working toward multidirectional relationships between schools and the full spectrum of community spaces that surround them, including non-English dominant spaces. For instance, teacher educators can train new teachers to engage learners in planning and leading class experiences in bi/multilingual spaces with which they are familiar, thus legitimizing L2 learners’ full linguistic repertoires and positioning them as knowledgeable authorities surrounding bi/multilingual community practices. Creating classroom texts that draw on these experiences communicates that bi/multilingual spaces and practices are worthy of inscribing in print and studying. Such texts further permit refugee and other immigrant learners to express their own thoughts about the bi/multilingual practices and community spaces in which they conduct their daily lives, rather than leaving these commentaries solely to researchers. These recommendations for second language teacher educators (as well as practicing teachers) echo

previous recommendations that draw on multiliteracies or funds of knowledge perspectives (Auerbach, 1989; Moll et al., 1992). In future studies, then, researchers could partner with practitioners and learners to amplify learner voice in studies that examine linguistic landscapes or bi/multilingual community language and literacy practices (e.g., Hutchison, 2001).

5.1.2 Future research.

Additional research is needed to better understand how policies facilitate or impede adult EAL/family literacy practitioners taking up curricular innovations such as those recommended above. For instance, a lack of explicit policies surrounding language, curriculum, and testing gave REC teachers broad latitude in the classroom, which some teachers found frustrating. However, Joy described the situation as a “big puzzle”; she drew heavily on her elementary training, which she found indispensable to working at REC (interviews October 30 and December 11, 2014). As is common in many U.S. communities, no local teacher training programs around REC offered formation in teaching emergent reader adults. (Requirements for adult/family literacy EAL teaching vary widely; in states with little state funding, few full-time positions exist. For a list of adult ESOL teacher requirements by state:

http://www.cal.org/caela/esl_resources/briefs/Teacher_Credentialing_Table_RED_MBxls.pdf)

Additionally, some adult/family literacy EAL teachers may work within greater restrictions on curriculum and instruction than is the case at REC. With this context in mind, researchers could ask what constraints/affordances exist (including teacher preparation and credentialing) and how they shape practitioners’ choices.

5.2 Lessons from Learners’ Connection-making

One of the most interesting findings of this study were the ways learners in Joy’s classroom proposed and made connections that touched on academic questions (e.g.,

comparisons between histories of home countries and U.S.) and served to establish personal connections with Joy, me, and one another. These connections drew on multimodal meaning-making, such as using photos and videos in storytelling, while referencing our respective past experiences, the pasts of places we had lived (e.g., history of slavery in Burundi vs. Georgia vs. Minnesota), personal interests (e.g., pop music), and family members who were not physically present. (Although I reference “academic” and “personal” connections above, there were not always clear lines between these. For instance, drawing a comparison between knowledge of common marriage customs in South Sudan and those in the U.S. served to reveal personal information as well as connect prior experiences to the content presented in class that day; see “My country not like that.”)

Personal connections may be particularly important for newcomers who are attempting to create spaces of belonging in their new communities, particularly for those who have “escaped or been expelled from a conflict zone” (Nelson & Appleby, 2015, p. 9) as written about previously in this chapter and in the introduction to this paper. As Hope (2011) notes,

Refugees may well benefit from membership of an extended community group, which offers solidarity, social contacts, cultural continuity and a myriad of other possible networks...However, government policy with regards to work, study and housing serves to restrict opportunities to meet and interact with the host population, and schools are often the only place where this kind of networking is possible (pp. 92-93).

Hope’s description captures well the experiences of learners in this study. At the time of data collection, all were stay-at-home mothers whose interactions with other adults and members of their surrounding community were constrained by patterns of refugee placement in housing by resettlement organizations (e.g., placing newcomer families in specific apartment complexes),

culturally-specific gendered expectations regarding transportation (e.g., some women's husbands and family members expected that only men would drive cars), and/or class-based constraints related to transport; for instance, only two of the learners in Joy's class had driver's licenses. As the learners in Joy's class proposed and made personal connections, then, they transformed the classroom from a space for language learning alone into a space for creating personal connections and extended social networks, such as those described by Hope (2011).

Interestingly, the adult EAL/family literacy and L2 education research bases contain few studies that explore or attempt to explain learner-teacher personal connections and the possibilities inherent in these (although, see Chiesa & Bailey [2015] for one recent exception). For this paper, then, I turned to nursing education. In her article reviewing and theorizing student-teacher connections in nursing education, Gillespie (2005) explained the role of "mutual knowing" in constructing personal connections as follows:

Mutual knowing, essential to the formation of connection (Gillespie, 2002), incorporates understanding the other outside of their immediate role as student or nurse, as well as appreciating their perspective....Students have reported feeling known when teachers recognized their lives outside of school... (p. 213)

Note that nursing-specific language is easily substituted with language applicable to adult EAL/family literacy and other adult L2 learning contexts; for instance, replacing "student or nurse" with "language learner" and "mother" (at least in the case of the present study), and "contribution to patient care" with "contributions to classroom learning." I understood the learners in Joy's classroom, then, as engaged in constructing connections based on "mutual knowing"—trying to understand Joy and me better outside of our positions as teacher and researcher/teaching assistant (e.g., as sisters, aunts, daughters). They also attempted to make

known to us aspects of their lives outside of the REC (and *before* the REC) through showing pictures and storytelling related to their subject positions as sisters, daughters, aunts, friends, community members, and, in one case, refugee. These examples have implications for both research and practice in adult EAL/family literacy, teacher education, and adult L2 education more generally.

5.2.1 Implications for research and theory.

First, the paucity of prior research focusing on adult EAL/family literacy or adult L2 learner-teacher connections, and the possibilities and dilemmas of these, reveal an important gap in our theory and knowledge bases. As noted above, the learners in Joy's classroom clearly showed that "mutual knowledge" (Gillespie, 2005)—particularly Joy's/my knowledge of them beyond the classroom and outside of their positions as language learners and mothers—were important, as evidenced by the learners' efforts to make themselves known to us in that way. Future studies could examine adult EAL/family literacy and/or other adult L2 learner-teacher connections and connection-making. Questions might include, but are not limited to, the ways "mutual knowledge" (Gillespie, 2005) is constructed through classroom discourse, curriculum, and instruction; resistance to the construction of learner-teacher personal connections; and macro- and meso-level policies that facilitate or hinder the construction of personal connection-making in classrooms. Other questions could center on the ways teacher-learner connection-making shapes learners' language learning or learners' lives outside of school, such as their opportunities for more broad social inclusion (Allman, 2013).

Further, such studies could contribute to the theorization of personal connection-making in adult EAL/family literacy or other adult L2 education contexts. For instance, Gillespie's (2005) theorizing draws on both nursing education scholars and education theorists more

generally (e.g., Buber, 1968; Greene, 1995; hooks, 1994; Mezirow, 1997), but few of these base their work on findings from diverse ethnolinguistic contexts, and/or learners with diverse prior experiences with formal schooling, such as those encountered in Joy's classroom and in many other adult EAL settings in the U.S. Although "mutual knowing" (Gillespie, 2005) appears to adequately account for learners' personal connection-making in Joy's classroom, findings from other classrooms could add nuance to this theoretical frame, or expand, confirm, or provide evidence for alternate theories.

5.2.2 Pedagogical implications.

From the standpoint of pedagogy, learners in Joy's classroom showed that constructing personal learner-teacher connections can open opportunities for language learning (see "Family photographs"), and for making content more culturally relevant, that is, more explicitly connected to learners' previous and transnational experiences, and/or the experiences of people they knew. These findings point to the need for adult EAL/family literacy curricula and instruction that center the construction of learner-teacher relationships, as well as adult learners' prior experiences, including experiences that span times and spaces (Hornberger, 2007). The learners in Joy's classroom demonstrate that such a curriculum would be well-served by including the use of images—either personal photography or images encountered online—perhaps particularly for beginning-level language learners (see e.g., "How was your weekend?" "Photographing class texts," and "Accessing online texts").

The centering of learner experiences echoes earlier, similar calls made by Goldstein (2001), Menard-Warwick (2004, 2007, 2009), ;Norton & Pavlenko (2004), Warriner (2007a, 2007b, 2011) and others who take up feminist pedagogies (Shrewsbury, 1993). Some earlier scholars in this area even created resources to facilitate participatory, learner-centered curriculum

development and instruction, including guidance for carrying out for the Language Experience Approach, as seen in Joy's classroom (Auerbach, 1992; Weinstein, 1999). Notably, these earlier calls and resources for learner-centered instruction, even when calling for dialogical teaching, focused on unidirectional learner-teacher relationships in which learners share their stories (Weinstein, 1999) or engage in other forms of self-revelation (e.g., letter exchanges with other learners, photography projects, etc. see Auerbach [1992]). However, the learners in Joy's classroom not only made efforts for Joy and me to know *them* outside of their positions as learners/mothers—the data demonstrate they also wanted to know *us* outside of our positions as teacher and teaching assistant/researcher. The learners in Joy's class show, then, that a pedagogy that centers on “mutual knowing” and connection-building is *bidirectional*: teachers knowing adult learners, as well as adult learners knowing teachers.

Teacher education programs could teach teacher-learners how to construct bidirectional relationships with adult L2 learners, whether weaving this through their instruction or via interactions outside of formal class activities. An important consideration for teacher education is how teacher-learners may discern if such “mutual knowledge” is desired. Further, relationships such as these would come with myriad questions, particularly given that bidirectionality in the classroom would blur lines between the subject positions of teacher and learner. For instance, a few questions may include, What are the ethics surrounding teachers' revealing their own stories and experiences to learners? What are the ethics of teachers *not* revealing these, particularly if asking learners to do so? What should be the limits of expected self-revelation for all parties? Under what circumstances might such mutual knowledge and personal connection be undesirable or undesired in adult EAL/family literacy or other adult L2 educational settings and why? And, again drawing on the construct of “rights and duties” (Harré

& Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5): Who has the right to answer to these questions?

Here, I do not offer responses to the above questions. I expect appropriate responses are grounded in local contingencies, just as guidance (or lack thereof) for the ethics of navigating bidirectional research relationships is also at least partly grounded in local contingencies (see, for example, Thorne, Siekmann, and Charles [2016] and Dance, Gutierrez, and Hermès [2010]). For instance, in relation to the question “Under what circumstances might mutual knowledge be undesired?” the administrator Julia stated that she wanted the REC to be a “refuge from conflict” (Nelson & Appleby, 2015)—a space where learners were not asked to revisit the trauma of their pasts, or the trauma that some of their families were continuing to experience (field notes, October 30, 2014). However, some learners used Joy’s classroom as a space for the opposite: they processed and shared information related to current conflicts, as well as the “after-effects” of war, that is, “the enduring effects for those who have lived through conflict...even after the conflict has abated or the person has relocated” (Nelson & Appleby, p. 314). For example, Paw Wah did not keep the video of her refugee camp burning to herself, and learners gathered together to talk through the fighting on the Burma/China border in February 2015 (see “Additional connections to ‘home’”). These learners’ sharings demonstrate the importance of Hornberger’s (2007) call for educators to “look for ways to bridge (learners’) digital and academic worlds to provide ‘space for all (learners) to express and share their concerns and challenges related to local, national, and global issues and politics’ (McGinnis et al., citing Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hillard, 2004, p. 14)” (p. 3). The fact that these sharings were initiated by learners further shows that responding to Hornberger’s call—particularly, taking up challenging content related to war and its after-effects—needn’t be restricted to advanced-level L2 learning contexts, but is possible (and needed) in beginning-level L2 learning contexts and with learners

who have experienced interruptions in access to formal, school-based learning.

Of course, the discussion above points to the need for second language teacher education to include training in teaching L2 adult learners who have experienced war and other conflicts. As Nelson and Appleby (2015) note, individuals who have been through war, militarized conflicts, and other kinds of trauma may continue to endure the effects of those experiences long after resettlement, which can then impact their L2 learning (p. 13). Importantly, those authors' review of previous TESOL research related to peace and conflict led them to the conclusion that "teachers located outside of high-conflict settings are often ill-prepared for the challenges of teaching refugees who arrive from war-torn countries" (Nelson & Appleby, 2015, pp. 13-14). The present paper, then, echoes their recommendations for second language teacher education that equips teacher-learners in helping adult L2 learners from conflict zones "to (re)build a sense of community and belonging; to develop critical literacies and oracies for addressing real-life issues; and to recognize and foster resourcefulness, resilience, and creativity" (p. 19).

5.3 Implications for Policy

In this subsection, I consider "policy makers" to include both governmental entities and private funders (e.g., corporate and family foundations). As discussed previously (see 2.1.3.2 "Private foundation funders"), private funders of small, community-based adult EAL/family literacy programs serve as *de facto* policy-makers: in order to qualify for private grants, programs must comply with these funders' requirements. (Private grants are necessary because programs like the REC do not charge tuition and government grants are generally out of reach: they require more administrative overhead than is at the disposal of these small programs.) Thus, private funders are implicated in recommendations for policy-making that shapes the work of teachers and administrators in community-based adult/family literacy EAL programs.

Further, as shown earlier in this paper, two of the largest private funders of family literacy in the U.S. (i.e., Toyota Family Learning/NCFL and Dollar General Literacy Foundation) follow federal definitions of family literacy, either explicitly or in spirit (see section “2.1.3.2.1 *Toyota family learning*”).

5.3.1 Responses to interventionist policy-making.

Family literacy education policies that promote “sustainable changes in the family” and “training for parents regarding how to be the primary teacher for their children and full partners in the education of their children” (Adult Education and Family Literacy Act [AEFLA], 1998; described more fully in section 2.1.3.1) convey an interventionist philosophy (Auerbach, 1992) to family literacy funding—and thus programming—while foregrounding children’s education in the project of family literacy. In this way, these policies communicate to parents (primarily mothers) that their educational goals are secondary to their children’s; contribute to notions of insufficiency vis-à-vis newcomers’ existing language and literacy practices; and aim to use family literacy programming as a means to socialize parents into socially-preferred ways of “doing literacy” in the home (Auerbach, 1989; Hannon, 1999; Purcell-Gates, 2000), as shown in the data and findings related to the first research question in this study. For instance, the dual focus on mothers and children in Joy’s classroom contributed to a blurring of lines between practices that are commonly taken up in adult education vs. in early childhood education. To some readers, then, Joy’s choices in the classroom may come across as patronizing or infantilizing. It is important to understand her choices within the contexts in which they occurred, as discussed in the next paragraph.

Further, the policies in question imply a top-down model of curriculum and instruction, in which parents have the duty to learn and take up socially-preferred literacy practices. This

constrains both administrators and teachers. Administrators face financial pressures to apply for and accept funds (including those with interventionist strings attached) in order to keep their small, community-based programs running. For their part, teachers must balance top-down interventionist curricular mandates (e.g., teach parents to change the ways they do literacy at home) with scholarly recommendations to ground curriculum and instruction in learners' experiences and local concerns, as suggested in this paper and by many prior scholars (e.g., Auerbach, 1992; Goldstein, 2001; Norton & Pavlenko, 2004; Menard-Warwick, 2004, 2007, 2009; Warriner, 2007a, 2007b, 2011). Below, I offer some suggestions for ways that policy-makers and private funders can move beyond interventionist practices, thus reducing the tensions described above.

5.3.1.1 *Rights and duties analysis of policies and RFPs.* In order to make possible the kinds of learner-centered and community-based family literacy teaching that scholars have been recommending for several decades (cited above), both public and private policy-making/funding entities need to adopt new policies and funding requirements. First, policy-makers and funders would do well to take up a “rights and duties” analysis (discussed previously in this chapter) of their practices, as well as the language used in their policies, on their websites, and in their requests for proposals. Questions might mirror those mentioned previously, but with an eye toward policy-making and funding; for instance, Who has the right to be involved in setting the policy agenda for these programs? Who has the right to set funding requirements that shape these programs? Who has the right to have their experiences and concerns represented in policy and in funding requirements? Who has the duty of carrying out funding requirements? In the policy language and funding requirement language: Who is positioned as having the duty to change? Who is positioned as having the right to expect change of others? (In other words, do

policies and funding requirements assume that changes in language and literacy practices are only expected of newcomers, or are local communities also positioned as needing to change?) Who has the duty to move toward whom? Again, I do not attempt to answer these questions here. Rather, I offer these questions as tools for policy-makers and funders interested in taking up the kind of analysis recommended here.

5.3.1.2 Support for teachers and programs. Additionally, teachers and administrators need support to take up the kinds of curriculum and instruction recommended here and in previous scholarship (cited above). One important means of support is funding for 1. well-prepared teachers and 2. programs to run more than a few hours a few days a week, so that learners have more access to English classes and teachers have access to full-time jobs with benefits (as well as pay for prep and time spent in meetings). Regarding the latter, Joy and her colleagues provide reminders of at least two consequences of *not* providing full-time work with benefits (nor pay for prep or meeting time): high teacher turn-over and little time for curriculum innovation, as teachers must piece together two or more part-time jobs to make ends meet.

Regarding the former, Joy's example adds to existing evidence regarding important preparations for teachers in adult EAL contexts with learners who are emergent readers (Vinogradov & Liden, 2009). As discussed previously, Joy's training in elementary teaching and her coursework in adult education uniquely equipped her to take up curricular innovations in a classroom of adult L2 learners who were emergent readers (i.e., learners who were learning to read for the first time in their lives in any language). She specifically expressed that her elementary teaching license was "super foundational" in teaching the women who participated in this study: many of the practices she took up she had learned during her licensure program; her M.A. program in applied linguistics mainly addressed English teaching in academic higher

education settings, where more full-time jobs are available (interview, November 13, 2015).

However, Joy's combination of training and experience is not commonplace across the U.S. due to current federal and state-level adult EAL/family literacy education policies. As discussed previously, in the U.S., professional qualifications for adult EAL teachers (outside of higher ed) vary from state-to-state, and many of the challenges in adult EAL professionalization presented by Crandall (1993) over 20 years ago continue today. At the time this study was conducted, the state where Joy worked (Georgia) required only that adult EAL instructors in publicly-funded programs hold a bachelor's degree in *any* field; programs that did not receive public monies (many of which operated entirely with volunteers) were not held to any teacher training requirements. Thus, some adult EAL/family literacy teachers may be underprepared for taking on innovations such as those recommended in this and previous scholarship, especially with beginning-level emergent readers (i.e., learners who are learning to read for the first time in their lives in any language). This may be particularly true for volunteer adult EAL/family literacy instructors who have not previously participated in teacher education programs and whose church-based or other community-based programs rely on packaged curricula and/or do not offer, or do not have access to, quality training (Perry & Hart, 2012). As stated above, then, policy and funding changes are needed to attract teachers who are well-prepared for this teaching context, which logically entails offering full-time jobs with benefits; calls for changes in adult EAL/family literacy curriculum and instruction have little meaning or impact if not accompanied by such changes in policy and funding.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: REC Intake Test

Complete the conversation.

A. FILL IN THE BLANKS.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

B. MATCH.

Apple
Chicken
Book
Sleeping
Pot

C. FILL IN THE FORM.

Name _____ First _____
Last _____

Address _____ Apartment Number _____
Number _____ Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Telephone Number _____

D.


Complete the conversations. Use am, is, or are.


1. A: Are there at work?
B: Yes, they are.


D. CIRCLE THE ANSWER.


Example:
A. Pen
B. Pencil
C. Book
D. Paper


1. (404) 782-3394
A. Apartment number
B. Telephone number
C. Social security number
D. Zip code

2. 
A. It's eight thirty.
B. It's ten o'clock.
C. It's twelve forty-five.
D. It's ten thirty.

3. 
A. brother
B. daughter
C. husband
D. son

4. 
A. \$50
B. \$6
C. \$12
D. \$60

5. 
A. socks
B. pants
C. shirt
D. shoes

6. 
A. Three forty-five
B. Seven fifteen
C. Nine thirty
D. Six thirty

7. What time does the train to New York leave?

Norcross	3:45
Atlanta	6:30
New Mexico	7:15
New York	9:30

FILL IN THE BLANKS

1 MATCH

What are you doing?	Yes, I do.
Where's the paper?	It's raining.
Who is this?	I'm cooking.
What's the weather?	She's ten years old.
Do you like rice?	This is my brother.
Is this your shirt?	It's on the table.
How old is your daughter?	No, it isn't.

F. FILL IN THE BLANKS.

their	his	it	he's	I'm	they're	my	she's	it's
him								

- My mother is listening to her father. _____ listening to _____.
- The students are busy. _____ doing _____ homework.
- The boy is making his dinner. _____ making _____.
- I am studying. _____ reading _____ book.
- Mr. Johnson is working. _____ fixing _____ table.

G. CIRCLE THE ANSWER.

- They aren't tall.
 - She's tall.
 - I'm fine, thank you.
 - They're short.
 - They're nice.
- _____ a telephone in the kitchen?
 - There is
 - There
 - Is there
 - Are there
- Hannah _____ her home.
 - is cleaning
 - am cleaning
 - are cleaning
 - clean
- My family _____ in Florida.
 - living
 - lives
 - live
 - liver
- _____ Alice study on Friday?
 - Do
 - Does
 - Is
 - Was
- She goes _____ school in the morning.
 - of
 - at
 - in
 - to
- They _____ there yesterday.
 - be
 - was
 - will
 - were
- How _____ children are in the class?
 - much
 - more
 - many
 - most

Appendix B: Table of Data Collected

Data source	Details
Classroom video-recording	Total: 39 Length: 0:00:32 to 0:06:33 Content: Classroom activities
Classroom audio-recording	Total: 105 Length: 0:00:29 to 1:05:20 Content: Classroom activities
Photographs	Total: 1,038 Dates: Oct. 6, 2014 – May 8, 2015 Content: Classroom activities, student work products, assessment materials, class, and school environment
Interview – administrator	Format: Audio-recorded Date: Oct. 31, 2014 Length: 00:35:22
Interviews – teacher	Format: Audio-recorded Date: November 13, 2015 Length: 00:50:58 Format: Audio-recorded Date: February 27, 2015 Length: 31:22 Format: Video-recorded, stimuli: Christmas party photos and videos Date: Dec. 11, 2014 Length: 0:04:07 Format: Video-recorded stimuli: Christmas party photos and videos Date: Dec. 11, 2014 Length: 0:19:57
Interviews – focal student participant #1	Format: Audio-recorded Date: June 14, 2016 Length: 00:22:13 Format: Audio-recorded Date: June 22, 2016 Length: 00:43:56

Interviews – focal student participant #2	Format: Audio-recorded Date: May 18, 2016 Length: 00:36:48 Format: Audio-recorded Date: July 12, 2016 Length: 00:17:15
Interviews – focal student participant #3	Format: Audio-recorded Date: July 27, 2016 Length: 01:17:13 Format: Audio-recorded Date: August 18, 2016 Length: 00:57:41
Field notes	Format: MSWord (password protected) and three researcher notebooks Dates: Oct. 6, 2014 – May 8, 2015

Appendix C: Field Note Example

Date: 10/22/2014
Recordings: 20141020-093207; 20141020-093647, 20141020-110432
<p><u>Activities & observations</u></p> <p>BEFORE CLASS</p> <p>As Ss come in, they write Morning Message, say hello, continue working on writing/illustrating books from last time.</p> <p>T1 asks me to find tablets downstairs and I set them up to charge. T1 wants Ss to use tablets to see themselves & asks me to handle figuring out how to make that happen. I do this as she does Morning Message.</p> <p>DURING CLASS</p> <p>Morning Message, T1 says each thing + Ss repeat each sentence. T1 encourages Ss to say it in happy voices.</p> <p>Phase 1</p> <p>T1 tells them to close books, then open books, repeatedly.</p> <p>T1 elicits Ss remembering “take lid off, put lid on” – reviews word “lid”</p> <p>Cell phone goes off T1 doesn’t say anything about it. Ss doesn’t answer.</p> <p>T1: “1 2 3 Sh. Close your book. Close your book. Thank you! (laughs) this is your children? In the school? Their mo- their teacher will say, ‘Okay, stop and listen.’ And they will say, ‘no no no I want to play I want to play’ (laughter) And their teacher will say, ‘no: stop and listen.’ (laughter) so you have to practice because this is what your children will do. All right so today is the 20th good.”</p> <p>T1 calendar skills -- when is next day of class & reminds them there is no school on Friday.</p> <p>T1 asks their opinions about the October weather & to think back to the weather in September & compare/contrast weather in those months. Talks about taking a nap in the grass.</p> <p>T1 reminds Ss re: their morning routine when they come in.</p> <p>Points to list written on board. 1. Greet the class. T1 “Good morning everyo:ne! I heard S6 say good morning. Who else? S3, S1. You said good morning.”</p> <p>T1 goes out into the hall and comes in and says “good morning everyone” to model.</p> <p>T1 points back to list written on board. #2? Write the Morning Message. #3? Study spelling words. T1 reviews words with “short I” sound that were introduced last time.</p> <p>T1 announces spelling test of short “I” words on Weds.</p>

Phase 2

“Nicole, let’s give everybody a tablet.” à T1 coaches them in turning on tablets & finding the appropriate app.

Practice writing individual words on tablet with short “I” sound, similar to last class.

Word list:

1. Sick. My baby is sick.
2. Will. I will not be here on Friday.
3. Big. My baby is so big.
4. Pin. This is a pin.
5. Lid. This is a lid.
6. Lip. This is my lip.
7. City. Go, city.
8. Sip. I sip my tea.
9. Hit. Do not hit your friend. “You tell your children do not hit your friend it’s not good.”
10. Win. Who will win the game?
11. Picture.
12. Is. My name is.... (prompts them to write this whole phrase & what is capital – “Your name is important”)
13. This is a lid. → moves into having them write sentences w/words they know.
14. This is a pin.

T1 to R1 (I was figuring out tablet stuff still): Can you look up a picture of tulips.

T1: you know there is a flower that has the name two lips – does it look like two lips?

Teaches this play on words in middle of test.

During #7, S3’s cell phone goes off & she picks it up and T1 asks her to take it into the hall.

After #8, teaches difference between ‘sound’ and ‘letter.’ “This is why English is crazy.” After each one, supports them in writing it.

Someone’s cell phone on vibrate goes off.

Phase 3

T1 reviews “vowel” – and several vowel sounds. The sound for the day is “i.” She says the short I words they’ve written on the board together and Ss repeat after her. T1 points out her mouth shape for saying short I sound. Reviews how to go from very open to closed vowels. T1 says sound, Ss repeat. Using mirrors to see what they’re doing.

Phase 4

Working on the books from last class again.

T1: And you are the illustrator. Illustrator means the person who made the picture. So this is your book. Today when the babies come you’re going to read this book to your

babie:s okay? You're going to read to your babies. Do you think your baby will like it? Yeah? It's good it's good. Okay everyone sit down. Oh! How do you spell sit?

Ss: [s -i - t

[s -e - t

T1: Sit (chairs being moved)

Ss: s -i - t

Ss rearranging things in the room. They spell "sit" together. T1 points out the words have the same vowel sound. A few Ss say "I" (like "eye" the name of the letter). She points out that's the letter, what about the sound.

Phase 5

T1 prompts them to find camera on tablet. Ss cell phone goes off & T1 sends her to the hall.

"Everyone is doing it so it's okay." – T1 prompts them to read the words and look at their mouths. T1 prompts them to not look at her – she says a word & they repeat. S6 laughs and laughs.

AFTER CLASS

Analytic memo

- Making classroom routines explicit
- Multimodality → tablet use for pronunciation practice!
- Discourse related to children again – tying books to motherhood
- T1 saying they're illustrators → positioning

Reflexive memo

Supporting in classroom can sometimes make taking close observations difficult – spent lots of time doing tech support today. Recordings and pictures and video=important. Maybe talk to T1 about this.

Wondering about the amount of time spent on the "P" of WPW again. What are the role of vowels in listener comprehension? Curious again about Ss not being asked to talk much during class. Lots of IRF.

At the same time, the women are smiling, they're laughing. They are coming regularly. Maybe this is in line with what they want in a classroom? I think they would maybe do anything T1 asked, she's almost always smiling and laughing.

Appendix D: IRB Approved Interview Protocols

(A) Administrator-participant interview protocols

Background information:

1. Before you came to this organization, what kind of previous administration, or tutoring or teaching experiences did you have – in any context (ESOL/non-ESOL)?
2. Can you tell me when you became involved at this org? How you came to be involved in this org?
3. What roles have you had here at this org?
4. Other than formal training, what other kinds of experiences have you had that you think prepare(d) you well for being an administrator and teaching adult ESOL?
6. You began as a volunteer at this org. Can you give me a timeline surrounding the process of becoming a member of the paid staff?
7. I understand that you occupy a lot of different roles at this org, and that every day is different. I'd like to capture a bit of the complexity of the role of an administrator in adult ESOL (who sometimes subs as a teacher), since it's quite different from K-12. (Show a calendar of one week.) Looking at this calendar, could you give me an overview of the different things you usually do each day -- how and where you spend each day?
8. How do you go about juggling competing demands?
9. In what ways do you think that your administrative role has changed over the years? How about your teaching, since you sub sometimes?
10. When you encounter a question about educational administration – how to handle a certain situation – how do you go about answering that question for yourself?
11. Do you mind sharing your age? How do you identify ethnically/racially? Any other ways you identify that you would like to share?
12. In your opinion, what are the things that adult ESOL teachers need to be able to be do in their roles as teachers? When you go to hire or bring on a volunteer, what are you looking for in an adult ESOL teacher?

Curriculum & instruction:

1. What do you think English teachers should spend the most time on in the classroom? (Probes: reading, writing, speaking, listening, pronunciation, grammar, etc.)
2. What do you think adult ESOL teachers can do to make class interesting for students?
3. I know your teachers teach a number of different levels, at a number of different locations. In light of that, how do you decide what materials to stock for teachers? How do you go about supporting teachers in a number of different locations?
4. What do you believe are the most important things for adult ESL teachers to know about teaching? About how adult ESOL students learn? About their students' lives outside of class?
5. What do you think are some of the things outside of the classroom that impact on student learning? What do you think are some of the greatest challenges/obstacles our students face vis-à-vis learning English and learning to read?

6. What are the biggest challenges facing teachers in the community-based adult ESOL context? What are the biggest challenges facing you in your role as an administrator of a community-based adult ESOL program?
7. What is your greatest challenge in working with the program that serves the student-participants in this study? What resources do you have that could support you in addressing them?

Follow-ups:

1. Since our last interview, what goals have you had for the program that serves the student-participants in this study? To your knowledge, is the program within budget? Meeting its stated goals? Are the needs of stakeholders being met? What data sources or evidence could we turn to answer these questions if we don't know the answers?
2. According to your impressions, what is working well at the program that serves the student-participants in this study? (probes: admin's relationship with church/state funder, teaching, resources for students, etc.) How do you know (i.e., what evidence/data support your impression)? Why do you think this is working well? What might need to be done differently going forward?
3. According to your impression, what challenges exist for the program that serves the student-participants in this study? (probes: support needed by teachers and students, relationship funders, etc.) How do you know (i.e., what evidence/data support your impression)? Why do you think that this is a challenge? What might need to be done differently going forward?
4. What suggestions do you have for stakeholders, other administrators, teachers, or staff to foster greater collaboration?
5. What small or large "breakthroughs" have you witnessed or heard about in the students' learning of English and reading since our last interview? For the teachers in the program? For yourselves?
6. What has occurred since our last interview that you feel could affect the students' learning – positively, negatively, otherwise? (probes: admin changes, school shut down for weather-related causes, students' health, unrest in home countries, local community unrest, etc.)
7. What has occurred since our last interview that you feel could affect the teaching that takes place in that program – positively, negatively, otherwise? (probes: admin changes, health, etc.)?
8. What else would you like to share with me about how you think participating in this research is going for the teacher-participant? About how you think this research is going for the administration? About how you think the research is affecting your organization overall? What (if any) midstream changes do you think need to be made?
9. What questions do you think we should dig into the next time we meet?

(B) Teacher-participant interview protocols

Background:

1. Before you came to this org, what kind of previous tutoring or teaching experiences did you have – in any context (ESOL/non-ESOL)?
2. Can you tell me *when* you became involved at this org? *How* you came to be involved in this org?
3. I recall that you went through this org training before you were tutoring with your one on one student. Can you tell me what other kinds of teacher trainings you've done since coming on board at this org?
4. Other than formal training, what other kinds of experiences have you had that you think prepare(d) you well for teaching adult ESOL?
5. You began as a volunteer at this org. Can you give me a timeline surrounding the process of becoming a member of the paid staff?
6. I understand that you occupy a lot of different roles at this org, that every day is different, that sometimes you work split shifts in different locations. I'd like to capture a bit of the complexity of the role of an adult ESOL teacher, since it's quite different from K-12. (Show a calendar of one week.) Looking at this calendar, could you give me an overview of the different things you usually do each day -- how and where you spend each day?
7. How do you go about juggling competing demands?
8. I know you are a French speaker and have been taking French classes at the Alliance Française again. Can you tell me how being a French learner shapes the way you think about teaching ESOL?
9. In what ways do you think that your teaching has changed over the years?
10. So when you encounter a question about teaching, or when you have a curiosity about something (e.g., what to teach or how to teach it), how do you go about answering that question for yourself?
11. Do you mind sharing your age? How do you identify ethnically/racially? Any other ways you identify that you would like to share?

Curriculum & instruction

1. In your opinion, what are the different things that students need to be able to do in relation to the 4 modalities (listening, speaking, reading, writing)?
2. Describe for me what an ideal English class session looks like for you.
3. What do you think adult ESOL teachers can do to make class interesting for students?
4. What do you think English teachers should spend the most time on in the classroom? (Probes: reading, writing, speaking, listening, pronunciation, grammar, etc.)
5. I know you're teaching a multi-level class, and there aren't many materials made for students at the lower levels, or who are just beginning to read. In light of that, how do you decide what materials to use in the classroom?
6. Sometimes a class or activity really goes well – everything seems to “click.” Describe to me a time you experienced that as a teacher. What was that like for you? (Probes: What do you think contributed to a successful class/activity that day? What do you think that experience taught you/your students?)
7. On the other hand, sometimes a class or activity really doesn't go as we hoped or planned. Describe to me a time you experienced that as a teacher.

- a. --What was that like for you? (Probes: What do you think contributed to a difficult class/activity that day? How did you handle/recover from that experience? What do you think that experience taught you/your students?)
8. Sometimes our students end up bringing children to class. For example, childcare falls through, or they end up taking care of friends' or family members' children or grandchildren at the time class is scheduled for.
 - What is class like for you when students bring children to English class?
 - What is class like for you when there are no children in English class?
 - Do you think your school should have a "no children" policy? If yes, why? If not, how do you think teachers can make English class better when small children are in class?
9. What do you believe are the most important things for adult ESL teachers to know about teaching? About how adult ESOL students learn? About their students' lives outside of class?
10. What do you think are some of the things outside of the classroom that impact on student learning? What do you think are some of the greatest challenges/obstacles our students face vis-à-vis learning English and learning to read?

Follow-ups:

1. Since our last interview, what goals have you had for the class/for the student-participants in the study? How have you gone about helping the students reach those goals?
2. Since our last interview, what is something (activity, materials, grouping, feedback, etc.) you did in class that seemed to work well for the student-participants in the study? How do you know it went well for them? Why do you think it went well? If you did it again, how might you change it?
3. Since our last time interview, what is something you did in class (activity, materials, grouping, feedback, etc.) that seemed to *not* work as well for the student-participants in the study? How do you know it didn't go as well for them? Why do you think it was less successful? If you did it again, how might you change it?
4. Since our last interview, what new *materials* have you tried, or brought back after a hiatus? How effective were they, especially with the student-participants in this study? How might you modify them in the future? What advice re: these materials would you give a teacher who was interested in trying them?
5. Since our last interview, what new *teaching strategies* have you tried, or brought back after a hiatus? How effective were they, especially with the student-participants in this study? How might you modify them in the future? What advice re: these materials would you give a teacher who was interested in trying them?
6. What small or large "breakthroughs" have you witnessed in the students' learning of English and reading since our last interview?
7. Since our last interview, what that is unusual or amusing has occurred in class?
8. What has occurred since our last interview that you feel has affected the students' learning – positively, negatively, otherwise? (probes: admin changes, school shut down for weather- related causes, students' health, unrest in home countries, local community unrest, etc.)
9. What has occurred since our last interview that has affected your teaching – positively, negatively, otherwise? (probes: admin changes, health, etc.)? What is the greatest

challenge you're currently facing in teaching this multi-level class? What resources do you have to support your efforts? How can I be of assistance?

10. What goals do you think we should have for the students for the next month?
11. What else would you like to share with me about how you think class is going for the student-participants in the study since this research started? About how their English learning is progressing? About how their learning to read is progressing?
12. What questions do you think we should dig into the next time we meet?

(C) Student-participant interview protocols

Background:

1. Who lives in your home? (# adults: roles (parent, aunt/uncle, cousin, grandparent, cousins, etc.) # children: ages/roles (siblings, cousins, etc.):
2. Who lives in your home at other times of the year? On what occasions (Ramadan, Eids, other holidays/festivals)?
3. What language(s) do you speak?
If married/partnered, What languages does your spouse speak?
If children/grandchildren, What languages do they speak?
What language(s) do the other people in your home speak?
(probe: How did this come about? Prompts, if needed: Migration, etc.)
4. What language(s) do you read? Write?
If married/Partnered, What languages does your spouse read? Write?
If children/grandchildren, What languages do they read? Write?
What language(s) do the other people in your home read? Write?
(probe: How did this come about? Prompts, if needed: different educational system for girls in home country, etc.)
5. What do you feel your English proficiency is? (listening, speaking, reading writing)
If married/partnered, What do you feel is your spouse/partner's English proficiency?
If children/grandchildren, What do you feel their English proficiency is?
(probe: How did this come about? Prompts, if needed: kids going to school in U.S., etc.)
6. What do you feel is your child/ren's (and/or grandchildren's) proficiency in other languages?
7. What language(s) do you use *with* your spouse at home? *To* children/grandchildren at home?
With other family members at home?
8. What language(s) do your children/grandchildren speak to you (to your spouse/partner/other family members) at home?
9. What language(s) do you prefer your children/grandchildren to speak at home?
10. What language(s) do your children/grandchildren usually use to speak to each other at home?
11. Describe to me a time your child/grandchild spoke to you in English. What was that like for you?
12. Sometimes it's difficult or scary to do what we need to in a new country in a new language – like make a dr.'s appointment over the phone, talk to children's teachers.

Describe to me a time you needed or wanted to do something in English (by yourself, no interpreters) and were successful. What was that like for you?

13. Sometimes we try to do those kinds of things (reference previous question), and it doesn't go as we hoped or planned. (I have lived and studied outside of the United States, and I have been scared to answer the phone at home and had difficult times getting things done sometimes. For example, once I tried to cash a check at a bank and I couldn't understand what the teller was saying, or why he wouldn't help me. I really needed the money, but I couldn't get it and was really desperate.) Describe to me a time you needed or wanted to do something in English (by yourself, no interpreters) and were not successful. What was that like for you?

Home literacies:

1. Describe to me how mail and official notices are handled in your home. (Probes, if needed: who is responsible for reading, for responding)
2. Describe to me the role of TVs in your home. (What rooms are they in? What do you watch on your own? As a family?)
3. Describe to me any computers you have at home (prompts: How many? Who uses?). Tell me about your experience(s) with computers.)
4. What kind of a cell phone do you have? Tell me about your experiences with using it (prompts, if needed: Texting (in what language/s)? Photos/sending photos? Other?)
5. Frequently, there's a lot of personal information to keep track of for a family – like birthdates, social security numbers, phone numbers, addresses, calling card numbers, etc. Who does that in your family? (If participant is the person:) Describe to me your systems for keeping track of these things. (If participant is not the person:) Describe to me the systems your family member has for keeping track of these things. (prompts: What do you/they keep track of? How/where do you/they keep track of it?)
6. What kind of literacy activities do you do with your children/grandchildren/other children in your life? (probes/ideas: carrying on oral storytelling traditions, library events, help with homework, book fair at school, reading children's books, etc.)
7. What kinds of things do you read outside of class? (probes: text messages, official announcements, online newspaper, offline newspaper, announcements from school, subtitles on TV, emails, FB messages, children's books, etc.) In what language(s) do you read these things?
8. Frequently, when I come to class and start talking with the class about current events, all of you already know the details of the event – sometimes even more than I do. I learn about current events by watching TV, through friend's Facebook updates, and word of mouth. How do you find out about current events?

Personal background

1. Where were you born? In approximately what year?
2. Did you attend formal schooling in your home country or anywhere else (e.g., refugee camp)? At what age did you begin? (Approximately what year?) Paint a picture for me -- What was school like for you there? (prompts: what would I see, smell, touch,

- taste; teachers, other students, classrooms/setting, learning/teaching styles privileged, etc.)
3. What language(s) were the lg(s) of instruction? (If the lg of instruction was not the participant's 1st lg): What was it like for you to go to school in a lg that was different from the one you used at home/in the community?
 4. Was your education interrupted and/or stopped? If so, approximately how old were you (i.e., what year)?
 5. What were the factors that contributed to the interruption or stopping? (Probes: social, political factors). What was it like for you when you found out or realized you would to stop going to school?
 6. Other than your home country, what other places did you live prior to coming to the United States? Did you attend school there? In what language(s)? Paint a picture for me -- what was school was like for you there? (prompts: what would I see, smell, touch, taste; teachers, other students, classrooms/setting, learning/teaching styles privileged, etc.)
 7. (If states s/he never went to school):
 Frequently, if girls/boys didn't attend a formal school setting, they had a lot of responsibilities and work for their families and/or communities.
 --Paint a picture for me: what was an average day like for you when you were younger/school-aged (prior to marriage)?
 --What were your responsibilities?
 --Who else was around? (prompts: mother/father, other adults, sisters, brothers, ages)
 --Where did your responsibilities/work take place and/or take you?
 8. When did you come to the U.S.?
 9. When did you begin learning English? Where? What have your experiences with learning English been like (before coming to U.S. / in U.S.)?
 What have your experiences with learning to read and write English been like (before/in U.S.)?

English classes

1. Describe for me what an ideal English class session looks like for you.
2. What do you think English teachers should spend the most time on in the classroom? (Probes: reading, writing, speaking, listening, pronunciation, grammar, etc.)
3. We all have good days and bad days in English class. Describe for me one of your favorite moments in an English class. One of your least favorite moments?
4. What are some of your favorite activities to do in English class?
5. Sometimes we end up needing to bring children to class with us. For example, childcare falls through, or we end up taking care of friends' or family members' children or grandchildren at the time class is scheduled for.
 --What is class like for you when you bring (your/others') children to English class? --
 When (other) women bring (their/others') children to English class?
 --What is class like for you when there are no children in English class?
 --Do you think your school should have a "no children" policy? If yes, why? If not, how do you think teachers could make English class better when small children are in class?

6. Who most contributes to your learning English? In what ways do family members help? Classmates during/outside of class? Workplace friends/bosses? Teachers? Other?
7. What kinds of learning activities have you participated in other than English class (e.g., workshops offered by community organizations or libraries, parent info night at children's schools, etc.)? What language(s) were those in?
8. What topics for classes or workshops do you think would be helpful for immigrants and refugees if offered by your English school)?
9. One of my jobs is to train new teachers who want to teach English. What do you think those English teachers should know about their adult students' lives in order to be better teachers?
10. Is there anything else you would like to share with me or other English teachers to help us be better teachers?

Follow-ups:

1. Last week, we did X activity. (If available: Here is a copy of some of your work from that.) What are some things you think you did well on in this activity? (When finished, provide reflective feedback from teacher's point of view.)
2. Do you feel this activity helped you more than other activities we've done? Why or why not? What was most helpful for you? Most challenging?
3. Do you think this activity was successful in class? Why or why not?
4. What is one way you could share what you learned in X activity with your spouse/children/other family members?
5. What is one thing I did when I taught X activity that you liked? What could I have done as your teacher to help you learn this more easily/better?
6. What would you like to learn more about in relationship to X activity? What do you think you can contribute to our class learning more about that (e.g., learning something outside of class and sharing it with classmates)?
7. What are some good things that happened since our last meeting (at school, at home, etc.) that have affected your English learning (e.g., got glasses, got childcare, stressful situation resolved)? What could I, you, or our administrators do to make more victories like this happen?
8. What are some problems or challenges that occurred since our last meeting (at school, at home, etc.) that have affected your English learning (probes: attendance, focus, etc.)? What could I as your teacher, our administrators, and/or you/your family do to help overcome those problems/challenges?
9. What else would you like to share with me about how you think class is going since we started meeting and doing research together? About how English learning is progressing? About how learning to read is progressing?
10. What questions do you think we should dig into the next time we meet?

Appendix E: Common classroom activities and themes

Common classroom activities

Copying off the board into notebooks (e.g., the Morning Message, Language Experience Approach stories, dialogues)
Copying from notebooks onto other paper for final drafts, or into electronic media (i.e., e-tablets, computers in computer lab)
Repeating after teacher (e.g., learning new lexical items and dialogues)
Round-robin reading
Choral reading (e.g., lists of rhyming words, the Morning Message)
Paired reading
Independent reading/exploration of texts, both physical and electronic
Read-alouds (i.e., teacher reading texts aloud to class)
Phonemic awareness activities (e.g., whole-class initial phoneme deletion/replacement)
Pronunciation explicit instruction (e.g., mirrors to practice individual sounds, gesture to practice stress)
Choral spelling
Spelling tests
Dialogues
Matching activities (e.g., pictures and words)
Collaborative composing (e.g., Language Experience Approach stories)
Making illustrations to accompany stories or other texts (e.g., an illustration of a library to accompany a story about visiting the library, an illustration of a hat to accompany a list of CVC words with /æ/ as the central vowel)
Creating cultural artifacts (e.g., valentine's day cards, invitations to class parties, etc.)
Tracking important dates (e.g., making a note on the class calendar and discussing)
Field trips

Common Classroom Themes

Pragmatics of politeness in U.S. English (e.g., greetings and leave-takings, requesting items from another person, using others' preferred first names)
Explicit instruction in conventions of English print (e.g., directionality of letters, print moving from left to right, putting spaces between words, wrapping text, recognizing and utilizing correct punctuation)
Practices of motherhood (e.g., reading to children at home, calling children's schools when sick, caring for children's health)
Common U.S. holidays, particularly according to Christian customs (e.g., cultural practices surrounding Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, St. Patrick's Day, Easter)
Early childhood content (e.g., shapes, colors, barnyard animals and farm words [farmer, tractor, barn], books and songs utilized in early childhood programming)
Content from field trip stories (e.g., Language Experience Approach stories about visiting the library, the fire station, a local elementary school, museums, and historical sites)
Content from U.S. citizenship exam (e.g., U.S. civil rights movement, Rosa Parks and bus boycott, Martin Luther King Jr., George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, slavery, the Emancipation Proclamation)

Appendix F: Five-step Language Experience Approach in Joy's classroom

Step/ When	Practice (What)	Location (Where)	Who/with whom
1	Preparation for community-based experience	Classroom. Joy sitting in chair at front of room; learners in chairs at tables formed in U.	Joy + learners. Led by Joy.
2	Shared community-based experiences	Various; e.g., library, local elementary school, fire station, museums, historical sites, state capitol, state representative's office.	Joy + learners + community members.
3	Generating and recording learners' oral language	Classroom. Joy at whiteboard; learners at tables.	Joy + learners. Collaborative, led by Joy.
4	Reviewing and planning for writing	Classroom. Joy at white board; learners at tables.	Joy + learners. Led by Joy.
5	Drafting and publishing	Classroom. Learners at tables. Joy in front/rotating to learners' seats. Researcher rotating to learners' seats.	Joy + learners + researcher. Joy, learners, and researcher working together 1:1 or 2:1.

Appendix G: Transcription Conventions

? rising intonation

. falling intonation

= latching (i.e., one utterance immediately following another; no perceivable overlapping/pausing)

(.) pause

: lengthening of preceding vowel

xxx emphasis on syllable or word; louder than surrounding language

“” quoted speech, voicing others

(xxx) transcriber notes

End of syllable (e.g., di- scri- mi- na- tion) or naming letters (e.g., s- h-)

Appendix H: LEA Story Based on Field Trip to Library